

EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY  
THE  
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI  
PART XIX

*EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES*

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## PREFACE

THIS Part, like its predecessor, has been an unusually long time in the press, and is late in appearing, through causes beyond the control of the editors. It is again of composite character and editorship. The new literary texts, with one exception (2222), together with 2225 and 2226, have been edited by Mr. Lobel, the two Euripides fragments (2223, 2224) by Mr. Roberts, the documents, together with the Ptolemaic chronology (2222), by Miss Wegener, under the general supervision of Mr. Roberts. Miss Wegener has also compiled the indices for the whole volume. In normal circumstances the documentary part of the volume would have been prepared for press by Mr. Roberts, and doubtless he or Miss Wegener or both would have revised texts and commentary, but his duties at the Foreign Office precluded his undertaking any continuous work at papyri, and the German occupation of Holland made it quite impossible to communicate with Miss Wegener. I therefore myself selected from the materials she had left behind when she returned to Holland in 1939 the documents here published, arranged them for publication, and revised the whole. Naturally, in the course of this work, I found not a few passages in which I was unable to accept her reading or interpretation. Since it was not possible to submit my divergent views to her consideration, and it seemed unfair to saddle her with conclusions from which she might dissent, I have so far departed from the anonymity which has hitherto invested individual contributions to the volumes of this series as to mark in the notes with the initial 'B.' all such passages. The initial does not necessarily mean that the reading or note thus distinguished is entirely my own but may indicate merely that I have introduced into it some addition or modification which substantially alters what Miss Wegener wrote. I must add that her work is uniformly of such high quality that problems not correctly solved by her are always difficult, and my own solutions are put forward with all necessary reserve. The last three accounts, 2243 (a), 2243 (b), and 2244, had merely been transcribed provisionally by Miss Wegener, and the introductions and commentary to these

texts are my own though I was able to use some notes and references jotted down by her in the course of her work.

Mr. Roberts has read the proofs throughout, but is not responsible for any errors that may occur.

Mr. Lobel sends me the following note:

The constituents of the section of this volume designated 'New classical fragments' are not what the statement made in vol. xviii introd. p. vi, that vol. xix was 'designed to contain among other things much more Alcaeus and Sappho', might have led the reader to expect. The copy for such a volume was ready, among the 'other things' being included a further instalment of texts of Callimachus. But when the Clarendon Press announced its intention of proceeding at once with the publication of Professor R. Pfeiffer's edition of *Callimachus*, it seemed proper to postpone everything else to the making available to him of *all* of this author that could be found among the Oxyrhynchus fragments. Accordingly the plan was changed and this volume and another, which it is to be hoped will follow at not too long an interval, present all of Callimachus (apart from the hymns) that a search made with that end in view has discovered there. It would be surprising if exhaustiveness had been attained but it has been aimed at. As regards the hymns, two manuscripts of some interest and importance have been included in this volume, but there are certainly others, which I have not treated as my business. The two manuscripts of Euphorion, it will be obvious, appear here as evidence against certain ascriptions to Callimachus. All the material collected for both volumes has been at the disposal of Professor Pfeiffer and has benefited in innumerable instances from his criticism. Some of his improvements have been so great that I have not thought it right to anticipate their appearance in his edition. I have also had the advantage of several conversations with Professor P. Maas, whose suggestions I hope I have acknowledged each in its proper place. To both these gentlemen I wish to express my very great gratitude for the help they have given me.

It remains to express the editor's thanks to the staff of the Oxford University Press, who have worked under great difficulties, due to the circumstances of the time, and particularly to the Press reader, who has called my attention to not a few slips and inconsistencies which had escaped my notice. Thanks are also due from me personally to the Librarian of the National Library of Wales for taking custody of the documentary papyri and for many courtesies extended to me in the course of the work.

H. I. BELL

ABERYSTWYTH  
December, 1947

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Vv. 1-31, 38-40, 44-53, 61, 64-78 lost, vv. 118-37 omitted in this copy, 138a peculiar to this copy.  
80 Ἰρμαίσα, sc. δακρυόσκα : δακρυόσκα (-αα). The previous line has a spondaic ending but there is no objection to two in succession, e.g. *hy.* i 34-5, iii 97-8.

81 ἰηπαί : νεῖται.

83 δηλαί : δειλαία.

84 ἀλλοτ[.]αι : ἀλλοτρίαις.

90 ἴρρεον . . . πολλὰ : κατέρρεεν . . . πάντα.

92 μεζ[.] : μεζόν.

μεσπενευρ. c: μέσφ' ἐπὶ νευράς (ἐν πλευράς). The papyrus has μέσφα not μέσφα again at 111 and that this is no error is shown by the occurrence of the same form at Cyrene (Thumb. *Gr. Dial.*<sup>2</sup> i 182). νευράς was certainly not written. νευραῖς might be read but the presumed α would be represented only by the extreme lower end of the tail. νευρ[.]ς is by no means ruled out.

93 ρυός : ἔνec (ἴρις, ἴρις). The papyrus reading had been conjectured by Valckenaer.

ελευφθῆ : ἐλ(ε)ιφθεν.

97 ποτ[.] : Ποσειδ-.

106 ουδ[.] : ἤδη. ουδεν was no doubt the papyrus reading. It had been conjectured by Bergk.

108 βων : βών.

110 μάλουρον : αἰλουρον. μαλουρις hitherto only in Hesych., 'white-tail'.

111 μεσπεμενεν : μέσφ' ἔτε μὲν. I suppose that the occurrence of ἐν before Τριόσκα implies that the papyrus had ἐτι for ἐνι before χρήματα. The papyrus reading was in principle conjectured by Maas (*Sokrates* 47 ii p. 136).

112 μωνον : μώνοι.

113 ἀλλοκοτον : ἀλλ' ἔτε τόν. The correct ἀλλ' ἔκα had of course been arrived at.

118-37 There is nothing to show whether the omission of these verses is accidental or deliberate. The existence of an otherwise unrecorded line after 138, hitherto the last of the piece, may imply an alternative ending.

138a As far as I can tell δω[μ]αίαι would suit the indications.

Unidentified fragment. This fragment, which is certainly in the same hand and I should judge as certainly from the same MS. as the rest I can neither attach nor identify. The blank in l. 2 would naturally be interpreted as the indication of a short line, which might be a short hexameter, a pentameter, or a title. None of these hypotheses has led to a fruitful result and I must leave the problem for others to solve.

1 Of ρ only the tail. A narrow letter might be missing between this and the next, which is represented by the foot of an upright.

3 Of ε only the right-hand end of the central cross-stroke. τω[ ] might be read for τω[ ]

4 ],, an upright with ink to the left of its top, perhaps π most probable.

5 ],, perhaps the top of the right-hand upper arm of χ. It is followed by a trace level with the tops of the letters.

## DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS

### (a) OFFICIAL

#### 2227. LETTER OF A PREFECT?

A.D. 215-16? Plate XIII.

Only two fragments of this official letter to a strategus are preserved. The first fragment, measuring 15.5 × 16 cm., contains the beginning of the letter; the second, measuring 5.2 × 8.7 cm., contains the end. The handwriting is of the chancery style, on which see Gerstinger, *Wiener Studien*, xlvi (1929), pp. 168 seqq.; other documents in chancery handwriting, published after Gerstinger's article, are P. Oslo iii. 185 and 186, P. Brem. 5, P. Bodl. Ms. Gr. Class. f 107 (P) (published *J.E.A.* xxiii, 1937, p. 222). At the end of the document is the personal subscription of the writer in cursive handwriting. The content of the letter is not clear owing to its fragmentary condition.

[An example of chancery hand not mentioned by Gerstinger is seen in P. Lond. Inv. No. 2038 (see *Archiv*, vi, p. 109); and examples recently published are P.S.I. 1247 recto and P. Mich. vi. 364 (A.D. 179), a document addressed by a tax-farmer for several nomes to a local official. B.]

#### Fr. A

|   |   |                      |
|---|---|----------------------|
| 1 | [Αὐρήλι]ος Ἀν[τίνοος                      | Αὐρηλίω Σαραπίω-]    |
|   | [μι τῶι] καὶ Ἀπολλωνιανῶι                 | στρατ[ηγῶι 'Ερμοπο-] |
|   | [λίτου]                                   | [χαίρειν.]           |
|   | [Ἐπιω]τάμενος τὴν πρὸς πάντα [            | ]                    |
| 5 | [...]εῖον μάλιστα τὴν πρὸς το[            | ]                    |
|   | [...εῖν]οιαν καὶ σπουδὴν καὶ π[ροαί]ρεσιν | ]                    |
|   | [...κατ]αφθάνω τῶι πολεμάρχ[ωι            | ]                    |
|   | [.....]ν ἐπιστ[ο]λὴν [τ]ηστ[              | ]                    |
|   | . . . . .                                 | . . . . .            |

#### Fr. B

|    |                                       |
|----|---------------------------------------|
|    | [. . .] καὶ [. . .]. τουτ[ ]          |
| 10 | [ ]εται. (2nd hand) ἐρρώσθαί σε . [ ] |

1 [Αὐρήλι]ος Ἀν[τίνοος]: he is probably identical with Aurelius Antinous, prefect of Egypt from about the autumn of 215 till the spring of 216; cf. Stein, *Archiv*, iv, pp. 148 seqq., and Reinmuth, *The Prefect of Egypt*, p. 137.

1-2 [Αὐρηλίω Σαραπίω τῶι] καὶ Ἀπολλωνιανῶι: Aurelius Sarapion alias Apollonianus is known as strategus of the divisions of Themistes and Polemon of the Arsinoite nome for the year 210 (perhaps 210-14), from which office he had retired by A.D. 215; cf. 2184 2 n. Afterwards we find him

attested as strategus of the Hermopolite nome from between 211-17 (cf. 2119 r-2 n.) till between 218-22; cf. Henne, *Liste des stratèges*, pp. 76, 78, 18, \*40 and Bilabel, *RE.*, s.v. 'strategus'. Therefore, if our restoration of the name of the prefect in l. 1 is right, the present letter cannot have been addressed to him as strategus of the Arsinoite nome (in any case there seems to be no room for the *μερής*), but proves that, shortly after he had retired from that office, he was appointed strategus of the Hermopolite nome. It is impossible that he was strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome at the date of our document, because we know that Aurelius Anoubion was strategus of that nome in A.D. 214 and A.D. 216. Cf. Henne, op. cit., p. 31; Bilabel, op. cit. Moreover, it is clear that he was an inhabitant of Oxyrhynchus, where his official correspondence was found; for that reason also it is unlikely that he could have been strategus of the Oxyrhynchite; cf. Tait, 'The Strategi and Royal Scribes in the Roman Period', *J.E.A.*, viii (1922), pp. 166 seqq.

2-3 The word στρατηγῶν must have been followed by Ἐρμοπολίτων and χαιρεῖν, but owing to the lacunae at the end of l. 2 and the beginning and end of l. 3, of which the remaining part is blank, the arrangement of words adopted in the text is conjectural.

7 τῶν πολέμαρχων: in Ptolemaic papyri occurs a proper name Πολέμαρχος (cf. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, s.v.), but the article before the word in this line proves clearly that it is not the proper name here. The office of πολέμαρχος is new to the papyri, but is a well-known office in Greece. At Athens the polemarch was originally the leader of the army, but later on he was merely a civil magistrate, whose competence was similar to that of the Roman *praetor peregrinus* (Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.* 58); cf. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Aristoteles und Athen*, i, p. 249, ii, p. 43, and *Staat und Gesellschaft der Griechen und Römer*, p. 72; a πολέμαρχος *συνεφέβων* occurs in an inscription of A.D. 145-6 (*C.I.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 2055), where according to L. and S. the meaning is simply 'chief, leader'. In the free cities of Boeotia and Euboea, the office of polemarch had the same development as at Athens; as Wilamowitz-Moellendorf says in his *Staat und Gesellschaft*, p. 129, the polemarchs are *jetzt nur noch Bürgermeister*; cf. his *Aristoteles und Athen*, ii, p. 43 and Boeckh, *C.I.G.*, i, p. 730, 5; Darenberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités*, s.v.; for references to polemarchs of other Greek cities see L. and S., s.v., and Dittenberg, *Sylloge*<sup>3</sup> iv, index, s.v. It is, of course, not possible to say anything about the competence of the polemarch in Egypt, but it is not without interest, having regard to the civil competence of this official in Greece itself, to point out that a πολίταρχος, a magistrate in some Macedonian cities, whose function probably differed not much from that of the polemarch (cf. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Staat und Gesellschaft*, p. 141), is mentioned once in the papyri (745 4 = Olsson, *Papyrusbriefe*, II, 4 n.; cf. S.B. 5765, 7). Our polemarch may have been a magistrate of Alexandria, which had the νόμοι of Athens, as we know from 2177 12-15, or, perhaps more likely, either of Antinoopolis or Hermopolis.

8 [τ]ηστ[ ]: either [τ]ῆς τ[ ] or [τ]ῆ σ[ ].

10 [ ]εται: perhaps [ἐπιστέλλ]εται.

ἐρωσθαί σε: after these words we can supply either εὐχομαι or βοῦλομαι.

At the bottom of this fragment is a blank space of 2 cm. This may have been followed by the date; cf. the letter of the prefect Subatianus Aquila in Schubart, *Tab.* 35.

## 2228. COPIES OF THE CORRESPONDENCE OF A STRATEGUS.

22.3 × 35.9 cm.

A.D. 283?

The present document contains the copies of seven official letters, of which six are addressed to a strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome and one to the strategi of several nomes, probably including the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome. A considerable part of the left side of the first column and at least one complete column on the right side of the papyrus have been cut off by the writer of the account of A.D. 294 on the verso and the document is broken at the top. It is nevertheless the largest extant example of such correspondence. Only two parallel documents, both in rather fragmentary condition, have been published hitherto, viz. P.S.I. 1125, of A.D. 302, the

correspondence of the *procurator usiacus* with the strategus of the Arsinoite nome, and P. Osl. iii. 82, of the third century, the correspondence of a strategus of the Arsinoite nome with a strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome. But in our document also many points are obscure owing to the fragmentary condition of the first column. It is not clear, for instance, for what purpose these letters, for the contents of which see the commentary, were here collected. The natural hypothesis is that this is a letter-book. The only reasons for doubting this are that the dates are not consecutive (II is dated the 30th, IV the 28th, V the 7th, 17th, or 27th, and VII the 9th Thoth) and that all the letters, with the possible, though not certain, exception (see ll. 37-45 n.) of VII, are connected, directly or indirectly, with the *annona militaris*. It may be that in connexion with some current business copies of illustrative documents were asked for, but it does not seem impossible that in preparing copies of letters received the clerks charged with the task wrote them down in reverse order; if ι or κ is read in l. 25 before ζ (but see note *ad loc.*) this letter would fall into such a sequence. The question must be left open.

On palaeographical grounds also the document is not without interest. There are six different types of hand (I, ll. 1-14; 2, ll. 15-21; 3, ll. 22-5; 4, l. 25b; 5, ll. 26-30, 37-41; 6, ll. 30-6, 41-5), which have been so distinguished in the text as printed; but it does not follow that each hand was the work of a different clerk. Miss Wegener distinguished only two clerks, to the first of whom she attributed ll. 1-25, to the second ll. 26-45, adding 'it is, however, remarkable that both scribes in copying the letter of a high official, letters IV, VI, ll. 27-30, and VII, ll. 37-41, use a hand which is clearly influenced by the chancery style, whereas they write the other letters more cursorily'. It is certainly probable that she was right as regards letters VI and VII. It is significant that the headings (l. 26 and *ἐτέρας* in l. 37) are in the 'chancery' style, whereas the *ἐρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι κτλ.* in l. 30 and the *ἐστὶ δὲ κτλ.* in l. 41 (not, however, the date and not altogether the copy of the subscription in this case) are in the more cursive hand. Here we seem clearly to see a single clerk varying his hand to suit the letters copied. Letter V, however, is certainly in a hand which, while not in the chancery style, is different from any other in either column, l. 25b is apparently an inserted note (see l. 25 n.), and letter IV is in a hand which, though it has features characteristic of that adaptation of the chancery style found not infrequently even in legal documents of the period, is so totally different from that of ll. 26-30, 37-41 that it cannot conceivably be regarded as an attempt to reproduce the same form of script; indeed it is written so naturally that it does not look like an imitation of anything. It is most satisfactory to distribute the clerks employed among the various types of hand as follows: clerk A = 1; B = 2; C = 3; D = 5 and 6; E = 4. (B.)

These examples of an imitative chancery hand suggest that P.S.I. 1125 (= *Pubbl. della Scuola di Fil. Class. dell' Università di Roma*, Serie Seconda, plate XIX) is a copy made in the office of the strategus of the Arsinoite nome and does not, as the editors thought, represent the chancery hand of Alexandria.



5 ἀρωνοῖτον 8 ἰ. διαχλίλας 18 ἡρ᾽τον 20 ὕμ. 27 οὐρρυγ᾽χίτου. 28 ἰν, so too 36  
38, 43 ἰπ., so too 31, 36 (ὑπομνησασθε), 43 31 ὕμην; ἰ. ὕμῶν 32 ἰ. ἐρηθίσασθε  
35 οφειλεταί 36 ὑπομνησασθε: ε written over αἰ 37 ἀνηνεγ᾽καν 41 ἰ. ἐπέ 42 ἰ. Ὁξυρρυ-  
χίτου; βοῖκα, ἱπτικά 44 αἰγες: γε written over ρε 45 ἰ. ἀνμικτα. αἰγες written above εχες, which  
has been crossed out.

ll. 27-45 'Aurelius Mercurius to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome greeting. I have ordered that the letter which [your predecessor?] as strategus [wrote to the senate?] be attached for your information, in order that you may see to it that the business of the mules (?) be quickly concluded and that there be no obstruction with regard to the business of the mules. For if you do not accomplish this quickly, you will be responsible for the delay in a business of such importance. I pray for your health. The 2nd year, Thoth. . . . The following is the copy: [Being desirous that the order should be promptly executed?], I went into it with you before drawing up my minutes, and I approved the ten silver talents which were agreed on in the senate as the price of each mule; but after my departure you voted in the council chamber that seventeen talents should be paid (for each mule). [? Since therefore I . . . ], saying it was clear from the fact that (. . . .) that you were prepared to carry out the order, you are to provide for the payment without delay of ten talents per mule, both for the city and for the nome, in order that thus there may be no obstruction with regard to . . . . For if now also you try to make excuse and will not perform the business, you must bear the risk which will follow. And in order that you may not allege ignorance, I have ordered the relevant documents to be attached. The 2nd year, Thoth. . . .

'Copy of another letter. Aurelius Mercurius to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome greeting. I have ordered a communication referred to me by Eugraphius and Agathos Daimon, the *officiales* of the *procurator usiacus*, to be appended for your information, in order that you may see to it that the number registered under each village of livestock bred there be maintained and that you make provision for zealous attention to the breeding, making known to me how you have proceeded. I pray for your health. The 2nd year, Thoth 9. The following is the copy: Since you ordered us, my lord, to state in writing the sheep, donkeys, cows, horses, and camels found in the Oxyrhynchite nome in the charge of comarchs and others, we have attached to this letter a detailed list, in order that nothing may escape your attention. The 2nd year, Thoth 6. It is as follows: In the village of the Syrians with the comarchs 72 miscellaneous sheep, one lamb, 14 ditto goats, and in the hamlet of Annianus, which is in the territory of the village of Senao, with the people of the hamlet 6 miscellaneous sheep, 6 ditto goats, one full-grown cow, one calf.'

I. 1 ]μμ[ : ]μμ[ seems equally possible. (B.)

II. 5-11 This letter perhaps relates to the delivery of the military *annona*; cf. 1115 3, Hohlwein, 'Le Stratège' in *Musée belge de phil. class.* xxix (1925), pp. 109-14.

5 [ Ἀπό] τοῦ Ἀρωνοῖτου: the restoration is doubtful, but we may perhaps compare ἀπό ᾿Ρώμης, e.g. P. Amh. 3<sup>a</sup> ii. 25 and 1407 16.

7 ]θεν: perhaps δεῖν with an infinitive in the next lacuna, but ]ζεω (E. P. W.) is also possible. (B.)

7-8 Perhaps διαδόσεως is to be restored.

8-9 δραχμῶς διαχλίλας διακοσίαις: for the payment of the cost of articles delivered for the *annona* cf., e.g., P. Flor. ii. 278, Lesquier, *L'armée romaine*, pp. 349-75, and see also P.S.I. 683, 15-16, requisitions for the visit of the Emperor Septimius Severus.

10 For the responsibility of the strategus cf. Hohlwein, op. cit., xxviii (1924), pp. 197-202.

III. 12-14 Probably an order to the strategus to transmit the amounts collected to the prefect. Here too the military *annona* may be in question; cf. 1115 18, Reinmuth, *The Prefect*, pp. 80-1.

13 ὑπηρετοῦ τῆς στρατηγίας: cf. Hohlwein, op. cit., xxviii, p. 214.

14 πρὸ τῆς ἀφ[ί]ξεως αὐτοῦ: i.e. before the *διαλογισμός*. For the restoration cf., e.g., P. Lips. 64, 35 and 47.

IV. 15-21 The collection on account of the revenues for the centurions in the preceding year was less than was counted upon. The present letter orders the strategi to collect the deficit.

15 Θωθ κβ: it is clear from the hand that the date belongs to this letter.

16 στρατηγῶς τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων νομῶν: for other official letters addressed to 'the strategi of the hereinafter-mentioned nomes' cf. 2184 7 n. The list of these nomes, which will have been appended to the original letter, has apparently not been copied. The present order was perhaps

issued by the prefect (cf. 21 n.); hence we might restore at the beginning of this line *Αὐρήλιος Μερκούριος* (cf. ll. 27 and 37).

18 ταῖς τοῖς ταμείου ψήφοις: cf. P. Lips. 64, 37 *ὡς λίτραν χρυσίου ταῖς ταμιακαῖς ψήφοις δοῖναι προσταχθήσεται*. These words should perhaps go with *λημματίου ἦρτον* 'that he had received less on the account of the fiscus'.

*λημματίου*: the meaning 'receive' is new; hitherto the verb *λημματίζω* has occurred in the papyri with the meanings 'place to credit' or 'deliver' (cf. Gelzer, *Byz. Verwaltung*, pp. 49-50) and 'enter in the register' (cf. P. Osl. iii. 88, 23 n.).

19 καλός: formed exactly like *κανος*. Perhaps *ν* was erroneously written for *λ*. (B.)

19-20 The method by which a deficit in the taxation-revenues was collected was the *μερισμός*; cf. W. O. i, pp. 256 seqq., Persson, *Staat und Manufaktur*, pp. 31-3.

20-1 *ἐκ τῶν ὑμετέρων*: it is clear from these words that the penalty of the strategi in case of delay consisted in the collection of the arrears from their own property; cf. 10 n. [Perhaps something like [πῶρον προχθήσεται τὸ ὀφειλόμενον] followed. B.]

21 *Αὐρήλ(ιος) Δράκων πρίγκηψ*: sc. τῆς ἡγεμονίας; cf. 1637 10 n., 1722 1, Reinmuth, *The Prefect*, p. 13. The occurrence in this line of the name of the chief of the prefect's *officium* makes it probable that the prefect was the author of this letter, which was probably written and sent off by our Aurelius Drakon.

V. 25 Miss Wegener's reading ignores the L at the beginning of this line and the trace of a letter (here doubtfully read β) after it, and amalgamates what follows with the entry printed in the text as an inserted line (25b), as follows: *Ἐισελθόντ(ος) [ Θωθ .]εῖς β[. . . . .]*. The stroke, however, printed above as L is quite clear and exactly resembles the year symbol in l. 41. There seems to be a clear trace of a letter (not inconsistent with β in its cursive form, though in ll. 30, 41 the other form is used) immediately following it, and the later traces appear to be in a line with this rather than with 25b, which moreover is probably in a different hand from the rest, though it may have been written by one of the other clerks employing a more cursive hand than usual. The date may of course be the 7th, 17th, or 27th Thoth, but if ε or κ preceded a slight space was left between it and ζ. The space before εἰσ[ ] shows that that is part of a separate phrase. Miss Wegener suggested εἰς ᾿Ρώμην, i.e. a letter to the Emperor, but this is improbable, and it seems quite possible to read εἰσι [δὲ, as a specification of something mentioned in the letter. The date here must refer to the preceding, not as in previous cases to the following letter; so too in l. 41 (where it is to be noted that ἐστὶ δὲ ἀντίγραφον) follows). Here, if εἰσι [δὲ is correct, the list which should follow may have been omitted; but if this is another circular letter a specification of the nomes concerned (εἰσι δὲ not in P. Iand. 140, 12 as restored, but conceivably lost in the lacuna there) might well have been inserted. Mr. Roberts, however, suggests that εἰς Τῶλθον (see next note) may be a correction or amplification of this: 'deliver to x or, failing that, to Tholthis.' (B.)

25b Read by Miss Wegener *Ἐισελθόντ(ος)*, but the relevance of this, especially after the date in the previous line, is not clear. *Τῶλθον* seems a very possible form for *Θῶλθον*, a well-known Oxyrhynchite village, which in P. Hib. 62, 9 appears in the form *Θῶλθις*. Perhaps a copy of this letter was sent, for administrative purposes, to Tholthis. The symbol before εἰς, which is different in shape from the year symbol as elsewhere written, may be intended merely as a sign of insertion. (B.)

26 This line introduces the next two letters. β[. . . .]σ<sup>β</sup> is difficult. One naturally thinks of something like *ἄλλων* (e.g.) [*κομισθ(έντων) δι(ὰ)*, the name of the messenger being omitted, but (1) the space is too large for *κομ*, and (2) Miss Wegener reads a β, not marked as doubtful, before the lacuna. There is now no trace of this letter, the break coming immediately after the *ν* of *ἄλλων*, but a small detached scrap shows a clear β. Was this previously attached to the main papyrus? A close examination of the fibres, despite a superficial plausibility, makes the connexion extremely doubtful, but Miss Wegener may have thought it possible. β might be the numeral, 'two others', referring to VI and VII. If so, we might perhaps venture to read [*χρηματ[ισθ(έντων) δι(ὰ)*, the name of the registering clerk perhaps not being known at the moment of writing. (B.)

VI. 27-36 An order from the prefect to hasten the delivery of the mules, presumably for military purposes. He appends a copy of a letter on the subject addressed to a senate. So much is clear, but there is much uncertainty as to the authorship of the enclosed letter and the identification of the senate. That Aurelius Mercurius, though hitherto unknown, was the prefect of Egypt seems certain

from the last letter (VII); see note *ad loc.* What we have in the remainder of this column is (1), ll. 27-30, the letter of Mercurius to the strategus of Oxyrhynchus covering the copy of another letter; (2), ll. 30-6, the letter referred to, which, though the address is omitted, was evidently sent to a senate (l. 32), itself covering the enclosure of certain other documents (l. 36); (3), ll. 37-41, a letter from Mercurius to the strategus of Oxyrhynchus covering the copy of a return made to the prefect; (4), ll. 41-5, a copy of the return in question. In view of l. 36 it is natural at first sight to take (3) and (4) as the documents there referred to, which would show that the writer of (2) was the strategus of Oxyrhynchus and the senate addressed the Oxyrhynchite; but this is impossible, since (3) and (4) relate to a different subject, the declarations of livestock. Clearly then the enclosures referred to in l. 36 were not copied here, and items (3) and (4) throw no light on the authorship of (2). In fact *ἐπίρας* in l. 37 refers back to the *ἐλλων* of l. 26; this is the second of the letters thus introduced. That (2) was from the prefect himself is ruled out both by the traces in l. 27, where *στ[ρ]ατη[γ]*, though not beyond question, is highly probable, and by the intimate relations between the writer and the senate revealed in the letter. The choice is between the epistrategus, the strategus of Oxyrhynchus, and some other strategus. It has been generally accepted ever since the publication of Martin's *Les Epistratèges* that the epistrategus was not much concerned in financial matters, for which the strategus were directly responsible to the prefect, but the supply of mules was presumably a military, rather than a financial, affair, so that the epistrategus can hardly be ruled out *a priori*. That the prefect should send the strategus a copy of the latter's own letter is inconceivable. If, therefore, the writer of (2) was a strategus at all he must be either the strategus of some other nome, whose letter is sent for guidance as to procedure at Oxyrhynchus, or the predecessor of the present holder of the office in the latter nome. Miss Wegener therefore read in l. 27 *ἐπι[γρα]φεν ὁ πρὸ σοῦ στ[ρ]ατη[γ]ός . . . . . τῆς ἐπιστολῆς*. This, however, seems impossible. Not only does it create great difficulties for the restoration at the end of the line but the necessary supplement in the earlier lacuna (13 letters) is certainly too long. The same space in l. 38, where the restoration is certain, holds nine letters, and in l. 35, with a much smaller and more compressed hand, about twelve. Moreover, the reading *ἐπι[γρα]*, though quite possible, is far from certain and, as already said, makes restoration difficult. It is equally possible, and more in accordance with the usual style of such letters (cf. l. 37 below), to read *ἦν* (*ἦς* with *ἀντίγραφον* following later is impossible). *λῆς* in l. 28 is, however, a difficulty. Later lines indicate that we cannot safely reckon on a loss of much more than 20 letters at the end of this line. To read here *ἦν* [ὁ πρὸ σοῦ] (or [ὁ . . . . .]) *στ[ρ]ατη[γ]ός ἔγραψεν τῷ πρηνάει (or γραμματεῖ) τῆς βου[λ]ῆς* (supposing *ἐπιστολὴν* to be understood or accidentally omitted) would yield too long a supplement at the end and *ὁ πρὸ σοῦ* is rather short in the earlier lacuna. [ὁ ἐπι[στ]ρατη[γ]ός is even less satisfactory in this last respect, but [ὁ followed by the name of another nome (perhaps abbreviated? but there are no other abbreviations), is not impossible. No satisfactory supplement for the final lacuna has suggested itself. Is it permissible to postulate a scribal error and correct to *ἦν* [ὁ πρὸ σοῦ] *στ[ρ]ατη[γ]ός ἔγραψεν τῇ βουλῇ ἐπιστολῆν*? Even this is perhaps a little long. (B.)

27 *ἦν*: see previous note. Only the left side of *ν* remains and would suit *ε* (*ἐπι* *ε* E. P. W.) equally well, but the left side of the *ν* of *ὑποταγήναι* in l. 28 has exactly the same shape as here. (B.)

28 *τῆν* [*τῶν βουρδάνων*] *χρ[ε]ίαν*: for the supply of animals for the army cf. Lesquier, loc. cit., and for *χρεία* *ibid.*, p. 357 n. 7. [*τῶν βουρδάνων*] is rather much for the lacuna. Perhaps *βουρδάνων* was written, or, e.g., *ὑποκείμενην*. B.]

29 *αἴτιος ἔσθ*: [read *exempli gratia*; *αἴτιον ἔξεις* is a possible alternative. B.]. At all events it is probable that the penalty for delay is here in question (cf. ll. 10 and 20-1 n.), as was pointed out by Miss Wegener, who suggests as an alternative reading *εἰν γὰρ μὴ ταῦτ'ε* *ταχύνῃς, ὑποπέσει ζημία τῆς*, comparing, e.g., P. Flor. 278, ii. 12.

30-6. The copy of the letter attached to that of the prefect. For its authorship and destination, see note on ll. 27-36. As there stated, the conference of the writer with the senate rules out the prefect, and it suits a strategus better than the epistrategus; cf. Hohlwein, op. cit. xxix, p. 112. The loss of the right side makes reconstruction difficult. If the text is correct and *οὐδ* has not been accidentally omitted after *ἔβρωσισσεν* in l. 33, we may either make ll. 30-5 (*γέννηται*) a single sentence or (perhaps preferably) assume a break in the lacuna at the end of l. 32. In the one case the run of the sentence is: 'since (l. 30) . . . I agreed (l. 31) . . . but after my departure (l. 32) . . . and (ll. 32-3) . . . take care that (l. 33) . . .', in the other 'I agreed . . . but . . . Therefore since . . . take care that.' (B.)

31 *ναὶ πο* *κελευσθὲν*: *τὸ κελευσθὲν* is perhaps the object of *ἐκεκλήμην*, but it might go with what precedes (e.g. 'being anxious that the order should be carried out, I consulted with you'. B.).

*ἐκεκλήμην σὺν ὑμῖν*: the first evidence for the presence of a strategus at a meeting of a senate. We may perhaps compare P. Lond. 2565 (J.E.A. xxi, 1935, pp. 224-47).

*ὑπομνήματα*: for the *ὑπομνήματα* or *ὑπομνηματισμοὶ* of the strategus cf. Hohlwein, op. cit. xxviii, p. 214, xxix, p. 37; see also Bickermann, 'Testificatio actorum' in *Aegyptus*, xiii (1933), pp. 333 seqq. *ἔδοκίμασα*: the restoration after this is doubtful, but we may compare for the fact that the strategus approved resolutions of the senate, e.g., 1414 4. The price was apparently not fixed by the prefect, though that seems to have been the more usual practice (cf. Reinmuth, op. cit., pp. 79, 80).

32 *ἀργυρίον τάλαντα δέκα*: [the point at issue between the strategus and the senate is the price to be paid for the mules. They were doubtless requisitioned by the government, which would naturally fix the price as low as possible (cf. Reinmuth, op. cit., p. 81), whereas the senators, some of them, it may be, personally interested, were anxious to make it as high as they dared. B.] The prices named show that the papyrus belongs to a period of inflation. We may compare the price of 10 talents for a donkey in P. Corn. 13 of A.D. 288, and of 16 talents 3,000 drachmae for a camel in B.G.U. 13 of A.D. 289. The time of the heaviest inflation being between A.D. 279 and 288 (cf. Mickwitz, *Geld und Wirtschaft*, pp. 54-6, 63, 230), the second year of our document (ll. 30, 36, 41, 43) refers either to the reign of Carinus and Numerianus, A.D. 283, or to that of Diocletian, A.D. 285. The latter year is less likely because at that date Aurelius Diogenes was prefect (cf. *Klio*, xxix, 1936, p. 241 n. 1), and we know further that Aurelius Philarchus was strategus of the Oxyrhynchite from A.D. 282 to 286. We prefer therefore, on the assumption that the letter is from the previous strategus of Oxyrhynchus, to date the papyrus in 283, for which year we have here a new prefect, Aurelius Mercurius; and if the strategus of our document has just entered his office, he may be Aurelius Philarchus.

*μετὰ τὴν ἔξοδον κτλ.*: the strategus was apparently at the meeting for part of the time only; we know that the *prytanis* also could leave before the end (cf. P. Lond. 2565). On the other hand, these words may refer to the departure of the strategus from the metropolis, not from the meeting. In that case the senate's vote for a higher price would be easier to explain. They may have heard that the mules could not be bought for ten talents, but were worth seventeen talents and therefore proposed in the next meeting the higher price (cf. 1414 4-9, where in a second meeting the price of yarn was raised. [But see the previous note and below, l. 33 n. B.]

*ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ*: if the letter is really addressed to the senate of Oxyrhynchus, this is the first mention of a *βουλευτήριον* at that city (cf. 1412 intr.) except 2110 8, 10, where, however, the word is used as a synonym of the senate. Here it may well be used of the actual chamber. (In 1412 11-12, read *εἰς ἐπιμελητῶν ἀγρομασίαν*. E. P. W.)

33 *ἐκβουλεσθαι*: the reading appears certain, but a compound *ἐκβουλομαι* is hardly credible, whether the *ἐκ* be understood intensively ('very much wish') or privatively ('not wish'). Probably this is a case of haplography, and we should read *ἐκ* *ἄπο* . . . *εσθαι* *βούλεσθαι κτλ.* (B.)

*πᾶσιν*: the mutilation of this line is unfortunate, since it makes the exact purport of the order uncertain. Miss Wegener understood it as concerned with the fixing of the taxpayers' quota. The *βουλή*, charged with the supply of the *ammona militaris* (cf. Lesquier, op. cit., pp. 361 seqq.; Méautis, *Hermoupolis-la-Grande*, p. 158), fixed the amount to be paid and ordered the taxpayers to pay this (cf. 1414 5, with note). Thereafter the money was paid over by an *ἐπίστολα* of the *βουλή* to *ἐπίμελεται*, who were chosen by the senate, in order that they should buy the mules; cf., e.g., C. P. Herm. 92, 93, Méautis, op. cit., p. 157. The senate's next duty was to nominate *ἐπίμελεται*, to deliver the mules to the army under the supervision of the strategus; cf., e.g., 1414 19-22, 1415 4-7, C. P. Herm. 97, Méautis, op. cit., p. 168. Hence Miss Wegener suggested here, *exempli gratia, πᾶσιν τ[ο]ῖς [ἐπιπόροις] ἐν [τῇ] πόλει* (better *ἐν τῇ πόλει* B.) *καὶ τῷ νομῷ* (or *ἐν τῷ νομῷ*); but the traces are definitely against this. B.] *ἐπιστολῶν τελεῖσαι*. On this view the phrase *εἰς τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν νομόν* in l. 34 means that the taxpayers must pay ten talents per mule for the city's share and that of the nome; cf., e.g., P. Lips. 57, 26 seqq. *τὸ ἐπιβάλλον τῇ πόλει ἄ μέρος κτλ.*, C. P. Herm. 92, 12-13, 93, 10 *ὕπερ τοῦ ἐπιβάλλοντος τῇ πόλει τρίτου μέρους*, Méautis, op. cit., p. 159, and 1414 2 *ἀπέχεσθαι τὰ διαφέροντα τῷ νομῷ εἰς τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως ἐξ ἡμοῦ*.

This is a quite plausible explanation and may be right, but it is certainly strange to find the senators, who after all were themselves actually or prospectively affected, putting up the amount of

the tax contribution and the strategus, as the government representative, reducing it. Is it not more likely that the point at issue is the price to be paid out of government funds for the requisitioned mules? Then the clash is between the desire of the senators, representing local interests, to screw as much as possible out of the government and that of the latter's representative to reduce the figure. This would give more point both to l. 33 ('it is clear you wish the government demands to be satisfied') and to l. 35 ('don't make the excuse that the mules cannot be got at the price'). Miss Wegener's proposed restoration, in one form, is consistent with the traces, though τ[ο]ς is not an altogether easy reading. On the whole it seems better to leave the lacunae unfilled. (B.)

35 ἐκρίθην: it is not possible to read ἐγεν, nor is there room at the end of the line for τὸν ἐκ τ[ο]ν ἡμεῶν ἐπιτημέτρον κίνδυνον (cf., e.g., 1119 10 and P.S.I. 1125, 12).

36 It is not possible to read after γεόμενα either γράμματα or ἐπιστάλματα. ἀδεντικά is equally impossible.

β: it is not possible to read α. Hence the present strategus had probably just succeeded his predecessor; cf. 30-6 n. May this be the reason that so many letters were addressed to him in the month of Thoth?

VII. 37-45 An order of the prefect to the strategus to see to it that the present figure of livestock in his nome be maintained. He appends a copy of a list of the stock in the Oxyrhynchite nome handed in to him by the *officiales* of the *procurator usiacus*.

We know that in matters of taxation the prefect dealt with the strategus without the mediation of the epistrategus; cf. Hohlwein, op. cit. xxix, p. 33, Reinmuth, op. cit., p. 63. It is therefore certain that Aurelius Mercurius was prefect of Egypt. A further argument for this is the fact that he ordered the *officiales* of the *procurator usiacus* to send him the list.

This letter does not deal with the *annona militaris*, but its place in this collection may be explained by the fact that in Egypt cattle were bred in the main to be used either for the supply of food to the soldiers or for transportation purposes; cf., e.g., Lesquier, op. cit., pp. 349-75; Reinmuth, op. cit., pp. 78-81; Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, p. 93.

41-5 The returns of livestock under the supervision of the strategus are fairly well known; cf. Hohlwein, op. cit. xxix, pp. 17-18; Wallace, op. cit., pp. 77-95. But the present document is the first evidence that in the Roman period a detailed general register of the livestock in Egypt was kept in the office of the *procurator usiacus* at Alexandria, and thus forms an interesting parallel to an unpublished Rylands papyrus which contains a similar statement for the Ptolemaic period; cf. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft*, p. 317, P. Com. 15 intr.

42 παρά κωμάρχοις: most probably the livestock belonging to the state; cf. Schnebel, op. cit., p. 320.

πρόβατα κτλ.: cf. Schnebel, op. cit., pp. 320-39.

45 It is most likely that the list was continued in the next column, which is lost.

## 2229. ORDER FOR DELIVERY OF A PRISONER.

8·8×26·8 cm.

A.D. 346-50.

An order from Eulogius, the riparius of the Oxyrhynchite nome (cf. 2235 1 n.) to a *kephalaïotes* to produce a prisoner immediately. Somewhat similar orders from a riparius are P.S.I. 47, P. Amh. 146; cf. Winter, *Life and Letters*, p. 116, and P. Osl. 20. The document is written across the fibres.

Π(αρά) Εὐλόγιου ριπαρίου

κεφαλ(αιωτῆ) Πανευεί.

Πέτρον Παύλου,

δὲν συνί[ε]λλε[β]ε[ς] ἐν ἐποικίῳ Πεγουλ(ου?) Ἀφθονί[ο]ν, σπούδασον

αὐτῆς ὥρας παραστήσαι ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως. (2nd hand) ἔρρωφο.

From Eulogius, riparius, to the *kephalaïotes* of Panuei. Make haste to produce immediately

in the city Peter, the son of Paul, whom you have apprehended in the farmstead of Pegoul(ús?) son of Aphthonius. Farewell.

2 κεφαλ(αιωτῆ) Πανευεί: a personal name Πανεύς or Πανεύς occurs (see Preisigke, *Namenbuch*), but it seems very improbable that the title would be placed before the name, and it is better to take Πανευεί as the village name (cf., e.g., 989 and 1559 9). Village κεφαλαιωταί occur (cf., e.g., P. Cairo Preis. 6, 2, Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, pp. 226, 227), but these are officials for the *annona*. In 2233 3-4, however, occurs a κεφαλαιωτῶ ἐπινορχῶν of a village (cf. P.S.I. 47), and it is probable that the title here must be similarly understood. (B.)

3 Πεγουλ(ου?) Ἀφθονί[ο]ν: no such ἐποικίον occurs in the *Wörterbuch*, section 16a, nor is Πεγουλός found in the *Namenbuch*, but the name may be a variant of Πεκοῦλ, which does occur as an indeclinable word (*Stud.* x. 122, 3). The sign of abbreviation here suggests a genitive form like Πεγουλίου, less likely, at this period, Πεγουλέως. (B.) For the meaning of ἐποικίον cf. Hardy, *Large Estates*, p. 132.

4 αὐτῆς ὥρας: for similar expressions in orders cf., e.g., 1193, 1506, P. Princ. ii. 99, 2.

## (b) DECLARATIONS TO OFFICIALS

### 2230. DECLARATION OF CLOTH-DEALERS.

12·5×28 cm.

After 28 August, A.D. 119.

In the present document the guild of cloth-dealers of Heracleopolis declare to Apollonius, strategus of the Heracleopolite nome, in answer to his inquiry, that they have valued two hundred blankets, which are to be delivered to the army. It is, however, not a mere declaration, for they state at the same time that they have received the price and have delivered the blankets. On the verso are portions of two columns of a report of legal proceedings.

- 1 Ἀπολλωνίῳ στρατηγῶν ] Ἡρακλεο[πολίτου ]
- 2 παρὰ Ἀμμωνίου Τοθέους καὶ Ἀσφέως καὶ Νεμεσάτο[ς] ἀμφο(τέρων) Σωτηρίχου  
κ[α]ι[α].....]
- 3 καὶ Ὀρίωνος καὶ Ἡρ[α]κλείδου ἀμφο(τέρων) Ἐμβήτος καὶ Φομβώτος Ἡρακλείου  
καὶ Ἡρακ[λ].....τῶν ἦ]
- 4 ἀφ' Ἡρ(ακλέους) πόλ(εως) ἱματισπολ(ῶν). πρὸς τὴν γραφεῖσάν σοι ὑπὸ  
Ἀτερίου Νέπωτος τοῦ [κρατίστου ἡγεμόνος]
- 5 ἐπιστολ(ῆν) περὶ τοῦ τὰς διακοσίας λώδικας, ἃς Ἀντώνιος Τιτὰν ὀπιῶν ἐπ[ι]-  
μελητῆς ἱματισμῶν]
- 6 κατελοῖται, ὑπὸ σοῦ συντηθηθῆναι καὶ δοθῆναι τῷ [ὑπ]ὸ τοῦ Τιτᾶνο[ς] διαπε[μ]-  
φθέντι στρατιῶτῃ]
- 7 ἦν ἐὰν ἐρίσης τιμὴν ἐπιζητ[ῶ]ντί σοι, τί ἐπράχθη[σα], δηλοσ[μ]εν τ[α]ύτα[ς] τὰς  
διακοσίας λώδικας]
- 8 συντετεμῆσθαι [ὑπ]ὸ τε ἡμῶν καὶ Εὐδα[μ]ονος Σφάτ[ο]υ[....]ρατο. τω[.....]  
.....]



15 Δομπίῳ Φιλίππῳ ἐ-  
 πάρχῳ, οὐὐχί τότε ο[δ]ῖν στρα-  
 τηλάτῃ, διακατοχῆς  
 Ῥωμαϊκῆς κληρονομί-  
 ας τῆς θυγατρὸς μου Τε-  
 20 χάσιος Πλουτάρχου  
 ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως  
 τετελευτηκυίας [ἀ]τέ-  
 κνου καὶ ἀδιαθέτο[υ]  
 με[τ]ὰ τὴν τῶν πατρὸς  
 αὐτῆς τελευτ[ῆ]ν ἐπ' ἐμοὶ  
 25 κατὰ τοὺς νόμους κληρο-  
 νόμου, ἀντίγραφον [ἐ]ρημη-  
 νευθὲν Ἑλληνικοῖς γράμ-  
 μασι κατὰ τ[ὸ] δυνάτον ἐπι-  
 30 φέρ[ο]νσα ὑμῖν ἐν δ[υσ]·  
 ἀντιγράφους ἐπιδ[ίδω]-  
 μι τὸ ὑπόμνημα πρ[ὸ]ς  
 τὸ τ[ῆ]ν δευ[τέρ]αν παρ[ά]-  
 θεσω γενέσθ[αι] καὶ διμνύω  
 35 τὸν Ῥ[ω]μ[α]ῖ[ο]ς ἕ[θ]ιμο[ν]  
 ὄρκον μ[ὴ] ἐψεύσθ[αι]. [L] δ̄  
 Αὐτοκράτ[ο]ρ[ο]ς Κ[α]ί[σα]ρο[ς]  
 Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου Γ' Ὀρδισιανοῦ  
 Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ  
 40 Τῆβι 5. (2nd hand) Αὐρηλία Θερμοῦ-  
 θιον ἐπιδέδωκα  
 καὶ ὡμοσα τὸν ὄρκον.  
 Αὐρηλιος Σερήνο[ς] ἐπι-  
 κекλημένος Λεωνίδης  
 συνέστην αὐτῇ καὶ  
 45 ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς μὴ  
 εἰδύης γράμματα.  
 (4th hand) Αὐρήλιος Διοσκουριδῆς  
 βιβλ[ιο]φύλαξ) σεσημ[ειω]μαι.  
 17 ρωμαϊκῆς 21 l. τετελευτηκυίας 46 l. εἰδύίας.

'Entered in the register. To Aurelius Theon, ex-agoranomus, and Aurelius Dioscurides also called Ptolemaeus, both senators and keepers of the archives, from Aurelia Thermuthion, styled after her mother Tapiomis, of the city of Oxyrhynchus, acting with Aurelius Serenus surnamed Leonides of the same city. I submit to you in two copies a copy, translated into Greek to the best of my power, of the (claim to a) deed of succession to the Roman inheritance of my daughter Techosis, daughter of Plutarchus, of the same city, who died after her father without children and intestate, leaving me as her heir in accordance with the laws, which claim I have made before the prefect Domitius Philippus, who was not at that time stratelates; and I present this memorandum in order that the proper entry may be made; and I swear the oath customary with Romans that I have not made a false statement. The 4th year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Antonius Gordianus Pius Felix Augustus, Tybi 6. I, Aurelia Thermuthion, have presented and sworn the oath. I, Aurelius Serenus surnamed Leonides, was associated with her and wrote on her behalf, as she is illiterate.

I, Aurelius Dioscurides, keeper of the archives, have signed.

1 π[α]ρ(τέθη): this reading is doubtful but cf., e.g., 713, 1268, and Eger, *Grundbuchwesen*, p. 146.

2 The βιβλιοφύλακες of the year 241 are unknown, hence the name Θεών is only a tentative restoration; there is certainly no room for a longer name.

13-30 These lines refer to the request for *bonorum possessio*, which was as usual addressed to the prefect of Egypt; cf. Kreller, op. cit., pp. 124-6; Reimmuth, *The Prefect*, pp. 47, 92, 106-8. A new feature in our document is that two translated copies of this request were submitted to the βιβλιοφύλακες (cf. Kreller, op. cit., p. 113); a similar statement is made in P. Oxford 7, a request for the registration of an inheritance, which is, however, not addressed to the βιβλιοφύλακες.

14-16 Domitius Philippus occurs here for the first time as prefect of Egypt; as such he is the immediate predecessor of Annianus, who is known as prefect for the year 241; cf. Reimmuth, op. cit., p. 138. Very interesting, however, is the statement that at the date of our document, the 1st of January 241, he was no longer prefect, but στρατηλάτης, in which office he is known from P. Berl. Leihgabe 9, 2. The lapse of time between the *agnitio bonorum possessionis* and the present request for παράθεσις may have been rather short (cf. P. Ross.-Georg. ii. 26, 12 n.), so it is very likely that Domitius Philippus entered on the latter office on the 1st of January.

Kalén discusses in his note on P. Berl. Leihgabe 9, 2 the possibility that our Domitius was related to L. Domitius Honoratus, prefect of Egypt in the reigns of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander; he mentions further, following *RE*, v. cols. 1315-16, that there occurs in the year 240 a Domitius as *praefectus praetorio*. This opinion is based on a rescript of the Emperor Gordian in *Cod. Just.* i. 50, 1 of November 3, A.D. 240. It seems more probable, however, that the Domitius in this rescript is not a *praefectus praetorio* (see below); the content of the rescript ('In causa quae spectat ad utilitatem rei publicae eum qui vice praesidis provinciae administrat potuisse cognoscere in dubium non venit') suggests rather that he was a *praeses provinciae*. And if we may take this as a general title, the rescript was addressed to him as prefect of Egypt. In that case he is certainly identical with the Domitius of our document; he occurs also in *Cod. Just.* viii. 30, 2 of May 19, A.D. 240.

The question arises what post is meant here by the word. In the Byzantine age στρατηλάτης was the Greek equivalent of *magister militum*, but the date of this text is too early for that. Does it mean *praefectus praetorio*? The address in *Cod. Just.* might favour that; if Domitius, after being prefect of Egypt, became *pr. pr.*, the compilers might well use the later title. On the other hand, this might happen even if there were an interval between the two offices. στρατηλάτης is hardly the equivalent we should expect to find for the Latin title of an office which was now largely administrative, and it may well be that, as suggested by Prof. Last, Domitius received some special command in view of the danger from Persia. Such a position would well suit the part played by him in P. Berl. Leihgabe 9. It is unfortunate that the phrase preceding the word is not certain (see l. 15 nn.) It is not possible to read *ἀχημάτων*. (B.)

15-16 στρατηλάτῃ; cf. Grosse, *Röm. Militärgesch.*, pp. 148, 183 seqq., and Kiessling, *RE.*, s.v.

15 οὐὐχί: there is a hole in the papyrus in the middle of the word, but the letter following o seems clearly to be χ rather than υ. Hence, unless the υ was made in the form of a curved stroke over o (the papyrus is rubbed there), which would be very unusual at this period, the scribe would appear to have written οχι. (B.)

τότε ο[δ]μ: δύτι cannot be read, though ο[δ]μ is far from certain and even τότε is doubtful. τότε seems impossible, but the phrase in the text is certainly strange, though no alternative has suggested itself. (B.)

28 κατά τ[ο]ῦ ἀναγνόν (cf., e.g., P. Harr. 67 ii, 11): these words favour the opinion of Eger and Kreller that the petitioners themselves were responsible for the translation; cf. Meyer, *Jurist. Pap.* p. 74. Of course it does not follow that Thernuthion had made the translation herself; she doubtless employed a professional translator.

32-3 On παράθεσις see Flore in *Aegyptus* viii, pp. 68-73. The present παράθεσις is to be made on the folium of Techosis, or perhaps still on that of Plutarchus.

33-5 For the oath see Seidl, *Der Eid* i, pp. 33-6, 87-9, 134.

35 δ: there was no Tybi in the first year of Gordian; hence α, the only other equally likely reading, is excluded.

## 2232. NOMINATION TO OFFICE.

25.5 × 14 cm.

A.D. 316.

The present nomination to office of two collectors, addressed to the *praepositus pagi* (cf. 2124 introduction), is preserved in duplicate. The text printed below is taken from the better copy; variant readings in the duplicate B are recorded in the notes.

Ἀρηλίω Ἡρᾶ Διονυσίου ἄρξαν[τι]  
 βουλευτῇ τῆς λαμ(πράς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὁξυρ(υγχιτών) πόλεως  
 πρεποσί(τω) τοῦ η' πάγου  
 παρὰ Ἀρηλίων Πατερέως Μενχῆτ[ος]  
 5 θεσσαλίου καὶ Πανσίρις Φλαβίου κα[ὶ] Ὡρίων  
 Μενχῆτος ἀμφοτέρων κωμαρχῶν  
 τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης Κεσμούχεως  
 τοῦ ὑπὸ σέ πάγου. δίδομεν τῷ ἰδίῳ [τήμων]  
 κωδύνω πρὸς ἀπέτησον κρέως καὶ  
 10 ἀχύρου ὄντας εὐπόρους καὶ ἐπιτη-  
 δίους πρὸς τὴν χρίαν. εἰσὶ δὲ Ἀρηλίοι  
 ἀπαιτητῆς κρεῶς  
 Θῶνις Μενχῆτος  
 ἀπετητῆς ἀχύρου  
 15 Πάνθηρος Ἀμόντος.  
 ὑπατίας Καικινίου Σαβίνου καὶ Οὐε[ττίου]  
 Ῥουφίνου τῶν λαμπροτάτων Παῦν[ι]  
 (2nd hand) Ἀρηλίοι Πατερήους καὶ Πανσίρις κ[αὶ]  
 Ὡρίων ἐπιδεδώκαμεν. Ἀρηλίος Ἀπολλοφάνης]  
 20 ἀξιοθεῖς ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μὴ εἰδῶτων [γράμματα.]

3 l. πραιποσί(τω) 5 l. τεσσαρλίον, Πανσίριος, Ὡρίωνος 9 l. ἀπαιτησων το σ of ευπορους a correction; the scribe had begun to write at this point the κ of και, and did not delete what he had written  
 10-11 l. ἐπιτηδέουσι 11 l. χριαν 14 l. ἀπαιτητῆς 16 l. ὑπατείας

'To Aurelius Heras, son of Dionysius, ex-magistrate, senator of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, praepositus of the 8th pagus, from Aurelius Patereus, son of Menches, *tessearius*, Aurelius Pausiris, son of Flavius, and Aurelius Horion, son of Menches, both comarchs of the same village of Kesmouchis in the pagus under your charge. We present at our own risk for the office of collectors of meat and chaff persons who are well-to-do and suitable for the service. They are: Aurelius Thonis, son of Menches, for the office of collector of meat, Aurelius Pantherus, son of Amois, for the office of collector of chaff. In the consulship of Caccinius Sabinus and Vettius Rufinus the most illustrious, Payni . . . Presented by us Aurelius Patereus, Aurelius Pausiris, and Aurelius Horion. I, Aurelius Apollophanes, wrote for them at their request, as they are illiterate.'

1 Ἀρηλίω Ἡρᾶ: the same *praepositus pagi* occurs in 2113, 2114, and 2124 of the year 316 and 1425 of the year 318. In these documents he is styled either simply Aurelius Heras or Aurelius Heras also called Dionysius. Here we learn that his father was Dionysius and that he was an ex-magistrate and senator of Oxyrhynchus.

2 λαμ(πράς): B writes the word in full.

3 πρεποσί(τω) τοῦ: the abbreviation is not indicated; perhaps therefore we should read *πρεποσίτου* as a mistake for *πραιποσίτω*, omitting τοῦ.

Πατερέως: B reads *Πετερέως*, probably the genitive of *Πατερέως* or *Πετερέως* (cf. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* s.v.), of which nominative both copies have the hitherto unknown variant *Πατερήους* in the subscription.

4-6 B omits the fathers' names.

5 θεσσαλίον: see 1425 5 n. After this word the scribe has apparently omitted in both copies κώμης Κεσμούχεως, as seems to be indicated by τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης in l. 7.

Πανσίρις: B has correctly *Πανσίριος* and Ὡρίωνος; in the present copy there is hardly room even for the nominative form Ὡρίων.

7 Κεσμούχεως: for this village in the 8th pagus see 1425 4 n.

9 κωδύνω: B has incorrectly κωδύνου.

10 Before ὄντας the scribe has omitted in both copies the words τοὺς ἐξῆς ἐγγεγραμμένους; cf., e.g., 1425 8-9, 2124 10-11.

12 ἀπαιτητῆς κρέως: B reads *ἀπετητῆς ἀκρεως*; he probably began to write *αχυρου* and omitted to delete the α.

14 ἀπετητῆς: B reads *ἀπαιτητῆς*.

19 Ἀπολλοφάνης] supplied from B.

## 2233. DECLARATION TO THE RIPARII.

11 × 17.7 cm.

A.D. 350.

Owing to the mutilation of the last four remaining lines and the loss of the lower part the nature of the present document is not completely certain. There had been an assault by certain inhabitants of the village of Tychinphagi against the people of the *ἐποίκιον* of Ptolema (?) (cf. Milne, *A History of Egypt*, pp. 33-4, 121-2, 271 sqq.). The chief of the irenarchs and two irenarchs had been ordered by the riparii to produce the delinquents and probably also to investigate the matter on the spot. This document is most probably their report.

Ἐπατείας Σεργίου καὶ Νιγρνιαγοῦ τῶν λαμ(προτάτων) Παῦνι ὑγ.  
 Φλαουίους Εὐλόγιω καὶ Θεοδούλω ῥιπαρίους Ὁξυρ(υγχιτίου)

παρὰ Ἀυρηλίων Ὠρον Παύλου ἀπὸ κώμης Ταμπιτὶ ζ' πάγου κεφαλαι-  
ωτοῦ εἰρηναρχῶν καὶ Παπνουθίου Ἀκόριος καὶ Παύλου Χαυρήμονο(ς)

- 5 ἀμφοτέρων ἀπὸ κώμης Σέσφθα ι' πάγου εἰρηναρχῶν. ἐπισταλέν-  
τες ὑπὸ τῆς ὑμῶν ἐμμελείας περὶ τῆς γεγενημένης ἐπε-  
λεξίσεως ὑπὸ [τ]ῶν ἀ[πὸ κ]ώμης Τυγχινφάγων κατὰ τῶν ἀπὸ ἐποι-  
κίου Πτολεμαί[.....]γνομένων, ὥστε ἐκείσαι παρα-  
γενέσθαι π[ρὸς αὐτοῖαν? καὶ] παράστασιν τῶν [αἰ]τίων, γενόμε-  
10 νοι ἢ[μεῖς.....Σέ]σφθα διὰ κωμ[ητ]ῶν, ἃ κατε-  
λήφισα[.....].[.....].[.....]. ε[...]

1 ὑπατείας, παῖνι 2 φλαουίσι 4 χαυρημονο 6 ὑμων 1. ἐμμελείας 7 ὑπο 8 l.  
ἐκεῖσε

<sup>1</sup> In the consulship of Sergius and Nigrinianus the most illustrious, Payni 13. To Flavius Eulogius and Flavius Theodulus, riparii of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Horus, son of Paulus, from the village of Tampiti in the 7th pagus, chief of the irenarchs, and Aurelius Papnuthius, son of Acoris, and Aurelius Paulus, son of Chaeremon, both inhabitants of the village of Sespthta in the 10th pagus, irenarchs. Being required by your grace, in connexion with the assault made by certain inhabitants of the village of Tychinphagi against the people of the hamlet of Ptolema . . ., to go thither for [investigation] and production of the delinquents, we . . .'

<sup>2</sup> Φλαουίσις Εὐλόγιω καὶ Θεοδοῦλω: it is very tempting to identify these two riparii with Theodulus, the writer, and his father, Eulogius, the recipient of a fourth-century letter of unknown origin (P. Princ. ii. 98). For Eulogius see 2235 1 n.

<sup>3-4</sup> κεφαλαιωτοῦ εἰρηναρχῶν: this title occurs here for the first time in the papyri, but the κεφαλαιω-  
τή(ς) (the word must clearly be read as a singular) of P.S.I. 47, 2 was no doubt a κεφαλαιωτῆς εἰρηναρχῶν; cf. 2229 2. In the papyri κεφαλαιωτῆς is one of the titles for the president of a gild; cf. Norsa, 'Elezione del κεφαλαιωτῆς di una corporazione' (*Annali d. R. Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, vi (1937), 1-7 and Boak, 'The Organization of Gilds in Greco-Roman Egypt' (*Trans. Am. Philol. Ass.* lxxvii (1937), 212-20, and see also Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, pp. 225-9. Hence the occurrence of the title in our document may point to an organization of the irenarchs into a gild.

<sup>5</sup> εἰρηναρχῶν: the word order in this line and the fact that they are to go away from their own village for investigation (l. 8) proves that they are irenarchs of the nome; cf. Oertel, op. cit., pp. 283-4, and 2107 introd.

<sup>7</sup> Τυγχινφάγων: probably a mis-spelling for Τυχνφάγων; cf., e.g., 1285 36.

<sup>8</sup> Πτολεμαί: an ἐποίκιον Πτολεμαῖ occurs in 989, but there was also an ἐποίκιον Πτολεμαῖδος in the Oxyrhynchite nome; cf., e.g., 43 recto iii. 3, 9 and P.S.I. 954, 44 and 55. Before γενομένων we may restore, e.g., ἐνταῦθα or ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς.

<sup>9</sup> The restoration αὐτοῖαν is suggested by ll. 10-11, otherwise ἀναζήτησιν is a possible reading; cf., e.g., 897 9-10.

<sup>10</sup> Σέσφθα: the reading is probable but makes it somewhat difficult to find a supplement. Perhaps the sense is that the irenarchs were detained by local duties at Sespthta and were there-  
fore represented by deputies. Miss Wegener read ἰσφρα. (B.)

## (c) PETITIONS

## 2234. PETITION TO A CENTURION.

23 × 13 cm.

A.D. 31.

This petition is addressed to the centurion Quintus Gaius Passer by Hermon; he complains of damage and assault caused to him by some fishermen and a soldier. For the competence of the centurion see Meyer, *Jurist. Papyri*, pp. 281-2, and (e.g.) P. Mich. iii. 175 (with introd.), P. Osl. ii. 21 and 23.

- Κυ[ίν]τω Καίω Πάσσερι εκατοντάρχη  
παρὰ Ἐρ[μ]ῖωνος τοῦ Δημητρίου. ὑπάρχει μοι πε-  
ρὶ κώμην Τῆν τῆς Θμοισεφῶι τοπαρχίας τοῦ  
'Οξυρνηχίτου παππικὸς πατρικὸς κλήρος Δρύ-  
5 ου λεγόμενος, ἐν [ᾧ] δημόσιον χάσμα καὶ λάκ-  
κος κατὰ μέσον τῶν ἡμετέρων καὶ ναῖβια  
καὶ ἕτερα ὑπὲρ τε πάντων τελῶν τὰ καθή-  
κοντα δημόσια, καταβαλλόμενος δὲ καὶ συν-  
αρποζόμενος ὑπὸ ἀλιέων Παύσιος καὶ {Π}  
10 Παμμοῦτος καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ Καλεοῦς καὶ  
Μέλανος καὶ Ἀτίνου καὶ Πασίτος καὶ τῶν  
σὺν αὐ[τ]οῖς οὐκ ὄντων ἀλίγων· ἐπαγαγόν-  
τες καὶ Τῆτιον στρατιώτην μετὰ πολλῶν  
λίγων καὶ ξυστρῶν ἐπελθόντες ἐπὶ τὸν  
15 ἡμέτ[ε]ρον λάκκον μετὰ κολλορόβων ἡλι-  
ευσαν καὶ ἀνέσπασαν ἰχθ[ῶ]ν ἀξίον ἐπὶ τὸ  
αὐτὸ [ᾧ]ργυρίου Ζα, κ[α]λ[ο]ῖ λογοποιοιμένον  
μου [αὐτοῖς] ἔγγισαν με ὡς μέλλοντες με  
ἐκπο[...]. ἐπ[ε]λ[ε] δὲ κατὰ πολλὰ βιάζοντα(ι)  
20 με, τὴν ἐπὶ σε καταφυ[γ]ῆν ποιούμενος  
ἀξίω, ἐὰν φαίμηται, ἀχθῆναι τοὺς ἐγκαλου-  
μένου[ς] ἐπὶ σε, ὅπως ἀπ[ο]δῶσι μοι τὴν  
τιμὴν τοῦ ἰχθύος, ὡς προ[ε]ίρηται, εἰς δὲ τὸ μέλ-  
λον ἀποσχῶνται τῶν ἡμετέρων, ἢ' ᾧ  
25 εὐεργετημένος. διευτύχ(ει).  
λιζ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Παχῶν ιζ.

4 l. 'Οξυρνηχίτου 8 First a of καταβαλλόμενος corr. from σ. 8-9 l. συναρποζόμενος 18 l.  
ἡγγισαν

<sup>6</sup> To Quintus Gaius Passer, centurion, from Hermon, son of Demetrius. There belongs to me near the village of Teis in the Thmoisepho toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome an allotment inherited from my paternal grandfather, called "of the Woodland", in which there is a public dyke, and a cistern, which is in the middle of my property, and cubic measures and other things; for the whole of which I pay all the appropriate public taxes. But I am suffering violence and am being robbed by the fishermen Pausis, Papsious and his brother, and Cales, Melas, Attinus, Pasois, and their companions, not a few in number. They brought also with them the soldier Titius, with many lines and knives for scaling, and coming to my cistern they fished with gaffs, and drew up fish to the total value of one silver talent. And when I remonstrated with them, they approached me with the apparent intention of . . . ing me. Because they act towards me with great violence, I have recourse to you and ask that, if it seems good to you, the accused be brought before you in order that they may pay me the price of the fish, as aforesaid, and for the future keep their hands off my property, so that I may be relieved. Farewell. The 17th year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Pachon 17.

<sup>6</sup> *ναύβια*: cf. Segrè, *Metrolugia*, pp. 25, 28, 42. It is clear from the next line *ὑπὲρ τε πάντων* that the *ναύβια* were owned by the petitioner. This possession of *ναύβια* by private persons is new in the papyri, as far as we know. Perhaps they were used for the work on the public dyke mentioned in l. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Perhaps rather *ὑπὲρ τῆ* (l. δὲ), but the particle *τε* (answered by the *δὲ* of l. 8) seems not impossible. (B.)

<sup>7-8</sup> For the taxes to be paid on marshes and the fishing-rights therein cf. Wallace, *Taxation*, pp. 219-21, P. Osl. iii, pp. 89-90.

<sup>9-12</sup> It looks as if the whole corporation of fishermen came to the lake.

<sup>14-15</sup> In these lines three different implements of the fishermen are mentioned, viz. *λίνα*, *ξύστρα*, and *κολλόροβα*. Only of the first word *λίνα* is the technical meaning certainly known. It occurs as early as Homer, *Il.* xvi. 408, as 'fishing-line'. It would be possible, taking *λίνα* here with this meaning, to interpret the present passage as implying that the fishermen fished with fishing-rods, i.e. to take *κολλόροβα* as the rods, *λίνα* as the lines, and *ξύστρα* as the hooks. Not much is known about methods of fishing in Roman Egypt; the only thing we know is that the fishermen either used boats or fished *ἀπὸ ποδός* (cf. Wallace, loc. cit.). This fact, however, implies that the system of ancient times was still in use, as for so many other professions. For a right understanding of these lines we must therefore point out first what is known about fishing in Pharaonic times. The best illustration of this is to be found in Wreszinski's *Atlas zur altägypt. Kulturgeschichte* (cf. Besta, 'Pesca e piscatori nell' Egitto greco-romano', in *Aegyptus*, ii, p. 67 n. 1). We learn thus that there were three ways of catching fish: (1) with nets (e.g. *Tafel* 24, 213 and 214); (2) with fishing-line and fish-hook (e.g. *Tafel* 106); (3) by spearing the fish (e.g. *Tafel* 28, 38). We see further (e.g. *Tafel* 54) that the fish was prepared immediately after being caught; the head was cut off and the fish gutted. Thereafter the fish were tied together with a cord. It appears from this that the fishing-rod was not used in Egypt. A further objection to the interpretation suggested above is P. Würzb. 5 of the year 31 B.C. This is a petition by a fisherman from Tholthis in the Thmoisepho toparchy to the strategus. He complains that his *ξύστρα ἀλευρική*, which is worth 150 drachmae of silver, has been stolen. Wilcken suggests in his note on l. 9 that *ξύστρα* is a knife to scale the fish, but that the value stated must be exaggerated. If this is true even of a knife, for a fishing-hook such a valuation is quite impossible. The last word, *κολλόροβα*, is known only with the meaning 'crook'. This is inappropriate here; the implement intended must be a spear, probably barbed, which would explain the use of a word normally meaning a crook; in fact a gaff. This may have been employed either independently, to catch the fish by spearing (the third system mentioned above) or, as more usually with the modern gaff, to pull the larger fish ashore. The wording suggests the former use. It is proved by SB. 7529, 3 *κνηρηθηνας*, sc. *ιχθύδια*, that the spearing of fish was still in use in the Roman period. Of the further implements which the fishermen had with them, the *ξύστρα* was used to scale the fish, cut the head off, and gut the fish, the *λίνα* were perhaps employed to bind the fishes together, but it is also possible that both netting and spearing were resorted to, despite the apparent implication (*μετὰ κολλόροβων ἡλίεσσαν*) that only the latter method was used.

<sup>16-17</sup> A talent of silver is too high a value for a single fish. *ιχθὸν* is clearly used collectively.

<sup>17</sup> *λογουσιουμένον*: for the sense 'remonstrate' cf. P. Mich. 228, 10, 229, 18. Hermon, who paid the taxes, had of course the fishing rights; cf. note on ll. 7-8.

<sup>18</sup> *ἐγγισαν*: the verb should take the dative, but the reading, though not certain, is probable.  
<sup>19</sup> *ἐκπρ[ε]ί[ν]η*: *ἐκπρ[ε]ί[ν]η* E.P.W., comparing Eur. *Med.* 585, but a poetical parallel is not a good basis for taking the word here as 'kill' ('lay out'), and in any case the space seems quite insufficient. *τ[ε]ί* is a quite possible reading (for the sprawling form of *ε* which this would imply cf. the first *ε* of *εὐεργετημένος* in l. 25), but *πρ[ε]ί* is equally likely. For *ν* after the lacuna [μ] (an aorist infinitive) could be read. *ἐκπρ[ε]ί[ν]η* is rather suggested, but there appears to be no parallel for the use of this word as either 'kill' ('do away with') or 'remove'. Palaeographically the likeliest reading is *ἐκπρ[ε]ί[ν]η*, but there seems to be no parallel for the active use of *ἐκτίνεω* as 'take vengeance on'. (B.)  
<sup>26</sup> Over *Λεῖ Τιβερίου* there is an undulating line.

## 2235. PETITION TO THE RIPARIUS.

25.4 × 17.2 cm.

Circa A.D. 346.

The present petition is entered by Aurelius Horus on behalf of his grandchildren Peteuris and Patas. They have inherited from their father Penephis a piece of land in the territory of the village of Adaeus, but now, illegally, the scribe of Terythis is trying to force them to pay the taxes on the land to his village. The document is historically interesting, as it illustrates indirectly the economic difficulties of the time: it was increasingly hard to raise the tax quotas of the villages, and harassed officials were driven to illegal expedients in their efforts to do so. It will be noticed, too, that the petitioner invokes the old motive—the threat of *ἀναχώρησις*—to strengthen his case, as well as a perhaps more novel appeal *ad misericordiam*, pity for the orphan children. Other petitions to riparii are, e.g., P. Cair. Preis. 2, P. Goodsp. 15, P. Oxford 6.

Φλαουίω Εὐλογίω ἀπὸ λογιστῶν ριπαρίω Ὁξυρηνγγ[ίτου]  
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίω Ὠρου Θεοδώρου ἀπὸ κώμης Ἀδαίου]  
 δ' πάγου τῆ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ. ὑπάρχει τοῖς τέκνοις τῆς ἡμ[ε]-  
 τέρως μου θυγατρὸς, Πετεύρι καὶ Πατᾶ, ἀπὸ διαδοχῆς  
 5 τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν Πενήφιως, ἐν πεδίοις τῆς  
 αὐτῆς κώμης συτικῆν ιδιωτικῆς ἀουραν μίαν  
 σωματιζομένην τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν  
 καὶ προειρημένου Πενήφιως καὶ ὑποστέλλουσαν  
 10 τῇ πεδιάδι τῆς αὐτῆς Ἀδαίου ὡς καὶ διὰ τῶν π[ρ]ός  
 ἀπαίτησιν βιβλίων ἐνιαυσίως ἔγκνται. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ  
 Πανούριος γραμματεὺς ἀπὸ κώμης Τερύθως τοῦ αὐ-  
 τοῦ πάγου παρ' ἕκαστα ἐπιβουλεύων τοῖς ὀρ-  
 φανοῖς παισὶν ἐπέρχεται τούτοις δὴ ἐπὶ προφάσι  
 δημοσίων τελεσμάτων τῆς αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀρουρῆς μᾶς  
 15 ὡς ταύτης ὑποστέλλουσης τῇ πεδιάδι τῆς Τερύ-  
 θως καιρομίαν βουλόμενος διαπράξασθαι

ἐπὶ περιγραφῇ τῶν παίδων τῆς θυγατρὸς μου, οὐ-  
 δεπώποτε γὰρ [ρ] συντελίας παρεσχέθη τοῖς τῆς Τε-  
 ρίθως πρακτῆρρι ὑπὲρ' τῆς γῆς ταύτης, τῷ μάλιστα τὸν τῆς  
 20 ἡμετέρας κώμης ὀριδοῦκτην Ἀφύγγων χεῖρα ἐκδεδωκέ-  
 ναι ἡμῖν ὡς τῆς Ἰσα ταύτης τῇ πεδιάδι τῆς Ἀδαίου ἐν-  
 φέρσθαι, διὰ πρόσεμι ἀξιών τὸν προειρημένον Πανσίριον μετα-  
 σταλῆναι καὶ παραγγεῖναι παύσασθαι αὐτὸν τοῦ λοιποῦ ἐπι-  
 [βο]μλεῦν τοῖς ὄρφα[ν]οῖς παισὶν μὴ διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτοῦ φυγα-  
 25 [δε]νθῶσι, κύριε. διεντύχει.  
 (2nd hand) [Ἀνρή]λλ(ιος) \*Ἔρος ἐ[πι]δ[έ]δωκα ὅ[ς] πρόκ(εῖται). Ἀνρήλ(ιος) ?Παῦ]λος  
 Πέτρον ἐ[γ]ρα(ψα) ὑπ(έρ) α(ὐτοῦ) ἀγρα[μ]μά[τ]του.

3 ὑπαρχει 4 l. Πετεύρει 6-7 l. οἰκτικῆς (l. 6 n.) . . . ἀρούρα μία σωματιζόμενη. 7 σωματι-  
 ζομένη: the last ν added later 8 ὑποσπελλουσαν (l. -ουσα); so too 15; the α of -σαν written over η  
 10 l. ἔγκειται 13 l. προφάσει 14 l. ἀρούρας 18 l. συντέλεια 19 l. πρακτῆρρι, μάλιστα 20 l.  
 ὀριδοῦκτην 22 the last ο of προειρημένον written over η 23-4 l. ἐπιβουλεύοντα 24 φνγα  
 apparently a correction but perhaps merely rewritten 26 l. ὡς

<sup>1</sup> To Flavius Eulogius, ex-logistes, riparius of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Horus, son of Theodorus, an inhabitant of the village of Adaeus in the 4th pagus of the same nome. There belongs to Peturis and Patas, the children of my daughter, one aroura of private grain-land inherited from their father Penephis in the fields of the said village, which is registered in the name of their father, the aforesaid Penephis, and belongs to the field of the said Adaeus, as recorded yearly in the tax-rolls. But because Pausiris, the scribe of the village of Terythis in the said pagus, is continually plotting against the orphans and importunes them for public taxes on the said one aroura on the ground that this belongs to the field of Terythis, wishing thereby to introduce an innovation to the defraudation of the children of my daughter (for no taxes have ever been paid to the collectors of Terythis for this land, as appears particularly from the fact that Aphynchis, the boundary inspector of our village, has issued to us a note of hand that this one aroura is entered in the field of Adaeus), I therefore have recourse to you and ask that the aforesaid Pausiris be summoned and be ordered to cease from further plotting against the orphans, in order that they may not by his fault become fugitives, my lord. Farewell.

<sup>1</sup> I, Aurelius Horus, have presented the petition as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Paulus (?), son of Petrus, wrote for him, as he is illiterate.

<sup>1</sup> Flavius Eulogius is known as riparius from 897 3, for the year 346 together with Fl. Dionysarius, and 2233 2, for the year 350 together with Fl. Theodulus; he occurs further as riparius in 2229 1. In the present document he is also styled ex-logistes, which office he holds in 2115, of unknown date. But since it is probable that he held the office of riparius continuously, the present petition may be dated at latest in the year 346 and 2115 shortly before that date. It is very doubtful whether he is identical with Eulogius, the deputy-strategus in 2113, of the year 316, and Aurelius Eulogius of P. Princ. ii. 79, 2, of the year 326; for his probable identity, however, with the recipient of P. Princ. ii. 98 see 2233 2 n.

For the office of riparius see Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, pp. 284 ff. and Rouillard, *L'Administration de l'Égypte Byzantine*, pp. 156, 163.

<sup>4</sup> μον is otiose.

<sup>6</sup> οἰκτικῆν ἰδιωτικῆς: probably the scribe meant to write οἰκτικῆς ἰδιωτικῆς, sc. γῆς.

<sup>7</sup> σωματιζομένην: for the technical meaning of this verb cf. Eger, *Grundbuchwesen*, p. 188; Avogadro in *Aegyptus*, xv (1935), p. 176; Délagé, 'Les Cadastres antiques' in *Ét. Pap.* ii, p. 141.

9-10 διὰ τῶν τ[ρ]ῶς ἀπάτησιν βιβλίων: for the use of the tax-rolls to investigate the proprietary rights on land cf. Délagé, op. cit., pp. 146-7.

10 ἔγκειται: this verb is used here as a synonym of the more usual ἀναγράφουσι or σωματιζουσαι; cf. 7 n.

11 γραμματεῖς: this title as another form for κομμογραμματεῖς occurs already in the first century A.D.; cf. P. Mich. iii. 176, 23-4. Hence the present document proves that the view of Preisigke, *RE*, xi, col. 1284, followed by Oertel, op. cit., p. 157, who states that the village-scribe disappears in the third century, is too narrow; for the occurrence of the office in the Byzantine period see Rouillard, op. cit., p. 71.

For the duties of the village-scribe with regard to taxation see Preisigke, loc. cit., col. 1283; Hohlwein, 'Le Blé d'Égypte' in *Ét. Pap.* iv, pp. 54-61; cf. also Rouillard, op. cit., pp. 97, 133, 146.

12 παρ' ἑκάστοι: Preisigke is certainly wrong in rendering this phrase (*Wörterbuch*, s.v. ἑκάστος) 'wider Fug und Recht'. In all the papyri he quotes, except perhaps P. Strassb. 5, 11 (where, however, the translation here given is quite possible), the context obviously favours the sense 'continually'. See L. and S., s.v. ἑκάστος, and cf. such uses of παρὰ as παρ' ἔτος, παρ' ἡμέραν. (B.)

18 συντελίας παρεσχέθη: a confusion between the active and the passive constructions.

19 πρακτῆρρι: for πρακτῆρ a variant of πράκτωρ cf. 1829 6-7 n.

20 For the office of boundary inspector cf. Boak, 'Early Byzantine Papyrus' in *Ét. Pap.* ii and iii, no. 3 introd., and no. 8, 10 n.

21-2 The scribe starts with ὡς followed by a genitive absolute but ends with the infinitive of the acc. and inf., which is the construction to be expected here, so we may suppress ὡς and correct to τὴν Ἰσα ταύτην.

ἐνφέρσθαι: this verb is perhaps another variant of the verbs quoted in 9-10 n.

23 αὐτὸν is superfluous.

## (d) CONTRACTS

## 2236. SALE OF PART OF A HOUSE.

24×9'7 cm.

Early 3rd century A.D.

Aurelius Morus and Aurelia Penhierax sell a half-part of a house to Aurelius Sarapion. The document was drawn up in the office of the archidicastes, Aurelius Sarapion also called Ammonius. It is the latest example of an Alexandrian *συνχώρησις*-deed, on which class of documents see Schwartz, *Öffentliche und private Urkunde*, pp. 172 ff. Recently published examples are P. Fouad 44 (A.D. 44, Oxyrhynchus) and P. Mil. R. Univ. i. 26 (A.D. 127-8, Tebtunis).

[Ἀν]ρήλλω Σαραπίωνι τῷ καὶ Ἀμμωνίῳ ἱ[ε]ρεῖ ἀρχιδικαστῆ  
 [κα]ι π[ρ]ὸς τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ τῶν χρηματιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κριτηρίων  
 [πα]ρὰ Ἀνρηλίου Σαραπίωνος Θεῶνος τῷ Διογένοῦς μη-  
 [τρ]ῶς Σαραπίουτος ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγγων πόλ[ε]ως καὶ παρὰ Ἀν-  
 5 [ρη]λίων Μώρου Σαράτος μητρὸς Σισόγης καὶ Πενιέρκας  
 [. . .]ατου μητρὸς Τααρθῶνιος ἀμφοτέρων ἀπὸ τῆς αὐ-  
 [τῆς] πόλεως, ἣς δὲ Πενιέρκ[ο]ς χωρ[ῆ]ς κυρίου χρημα-  
 [τῆ]ς ὀψης κατὰ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔθη τέκ[ν]ων δικαίω.  
 [πῆ]ξωρουσι ὁ τε Μῶρος καὶ ἡ Πενιέρ[α]ξ πεπρακέαν

- 10 [τῷ Σ]αραπίωνι ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἰς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον τὸ ὑ-  
 [πάρ]χον αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ [πό]λει ἐπ' ἀμφόδου δρόμου  
 [Θο]ήριδος ἡμῖσι μέρος ῥ[ι]κειδίου καὶ χρηστηρίων  
 [πάν]των καὶ ἰσόδων κ[αὶ] ἐξόδων, οὐ ἔβλον γείτονες  
 [νό]του [Σα]βάτος, βορρά τ[οῦ] ὠνούμενου καὶ τοῦ [ἀ]δελ-
- 15 [φο]ῦ αὐτοῦ, ἀπηλιώτου [πρό]τερον Ἡρωνος καὶ μετό-  
 [χ]ων, λιβός δημοσία ῥύμη. τὰς δὲ συμπεφωνημέ-  
 [να]ς ὑπὲρ τειμῆς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἡμῖσι μέρος τοῦ οἰ-  
 [κει]δίου καὶ χρηστηρίων πάντων ἀργυρίου  
 [Σε]βαστοῦ νομίσματος δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν ἐξήκον-
- 20 [τα] αὐτόθι ἀπέσχεον ὁ τε Μῶρος καὶ ἡ Πενιέραξ  
 [π]αρά τοῦ ὠνούμενου διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ πλήρους.  
 [κρ]ατεῖν οὖν καὶ κυριεῦεν τὸν Σαραπίωνα σὺν  
 [ἐκ]γόνοις καὶ τοῖς πα[ρ'] αὐτοῦ μεταλημφομένοις  
 [το]ῦ αὐτοῦ ἡμ[ισο]ῦς μ[ε]ρους τοῦ οἰκειδίου καὶ
- 25 [χρ]ηστηρίων π[ρὸ] πάντων καὶ ἐξ[ο]υσίαν ἔχειν διρι-  
 [κεῖ]ν καὶ οἰκοδομεῖν π[ρὸ] αὐτοῦ ὧ ἐὰν αἴρη-  
 [τα] τρόπῳ [ἀ]νεμπ[ρο]δίστως, καὶ μὴ ἐπελ[ε]ύσ[ε]σθαι τῶν  
 [τε] Μῶρον καὶ τῶν Πενιέρ[α]κα μὴδ' ἄλλον ὑπέ[ρ] αὐ-  
 [τῶν] μὴδένα κατὰ μὴδένα τρόπον καὶ τ[ὸ] προκέμ[ε]ν-
- 30 [νον] ἡμῖσι μέρος παρέξ[ε]σθαι καθαρόν ἀπὸ τε  
 [ἀπο]γραφῆς ἀνδρῶν καὶ γεωργίας βασιλικῆς  
 [καὶ] οὐσιακῆς γῆς καὶ πάντων εἰδῶς καὶ ὄφει-  
 [λῆς] πάσης δημοσίας τε καὶ ἰδιωτικῆς καὶ ἀπὸ παν-  
 [τὸς] οὐτινοσοῦν ἄλλου. πάντα δὲ τὸν καθ' ὄν-
- 35 [δη]ποτοῦν τρόπον ἐπελ[ε]υσόμενον ἢ ἐνοι-  
 [η]σόμενον τοῦ μέρους χά[ρι]ν ἀποστήσω αὐτοῦς  
 [παρα]χρήμα τοῖς ἰδίοις θανατήμασι καθάπερ  
 [ἐκ] δίκης· περὶ δὲ τοῦ ταῦτα οὕτως ὀρθῶς καλῶς  
 [γε]γενῆσθαι ἐπερωτή[σεν] ὁ ὠνούμενος,
- 40 [ὠ]μολόγησαν οἱ ἀποδόμενοι. κτλ. ]
- 5 Πενιέρακος 10 l. εἰς 10-11 ὑ[π]αρχον 12 l. οἰκίδιου; so too 18, 24 13 l. εισόδων  
 17 l. τιμῆς 20 l. ἀπέσχεον 36 l. ἀποστήσει

\* To Aurelius Sarapion also called Ammonius, priest, archidicastes, and superintendent of the chrematistae and other courts, from Aurelius Sarapion, son of Theon, son of Diogenes, his mother being Sarapous, of the city of Oxyrhynchus, and from Aurelius Morus, son of Saras, his mother being

Sisois, and Aurelia Penhierax, daughter of . . . , her mother being Taarthonis, both inhabitants of the same city, Penhierax acting without *tutor* according to the custom of the Romans in virtue of her children. Morus and Penhierax acknowledge that they have sold to Sarapion from henceforth for ever the half part of a house belonging to them, situated in the same city in the quarter of the Square of Thôëris, with all appurtenances and entrances and exits, of which whole house the adjacent areas are, on the south the house of Saras, on the north the house of the purchaser and his brother, on the east the house formerly belonging to Heron and his partners, on the west a public street. Morus and Penhierax have received from the purchaser forthwith from hand to hand in full the hundred and sixty drachmae of silver of the Imperial coinage agreed upon as the price of the same half part of the house and its appurtenances. Sarapion shall therefore possess and own with his descendants and his successors the same half part of the house and all appurtenances, and shall have power to control it and dispose of it in whatever way he chooses without hindrance, and neither Morus and Penhierax nor anyone else on their behalf shall in any wise proceed against him. They will warrant to him the aforesaid half part free from liability to personal property returns and the cultivation of royal and domain land and from every obligation and every debt, public or private, and from everything else whatsoever. And anyone who in any manner whatsoever shall take proceedings or lay claim to the part they will at once repel at their own cost as if in consequence of a legal decision. And to the purchaser's question whether this has in this way been rightly and fairly done the vendors have given their assent.\*

1 [Ἀ]ρχιδίω Σαραπίωνι τῷ καὶ Ἀμμωνίῳ: this seems to be a new name for the list of archidicastes. He is not likely to be the Ammonius of SB. 424. (B.)

5 Πενιέρακος: a woman, as appears from what follows, despite the π-. The name is not recorded in Preisigke's *Namenbuch*.

26-7 These lines have suffered specially from rubbing and are very difficult to read. That the text here printed represents the substance of the clause may be taken as certain, but the details cannot be guaranteed and several of the dotted letters can be read only with the eye of faith. (B.)

27 καὶ μὴ ἐπελ[ε]ύσ[ε]σθαι τῶν: καὶ μὴ ἐπιτορευεσθαι E.P.W., but repeated examinations with a magnifying glass under varying degrees of light have failed to confirm this. The reading in the text is, however, far from certain. For the verb cf. l. 35. (B.)

38 The clause περὶ δὲ τοῦ ταῦτα κτλ., which occurs, e.g., 1208 25 after the *κρῖτα* clause, is new in a *συγχώρησις* deed; cf. Schwartz, op. cit., p. 172.

39 After this line the document breaks off; but if the restoration is right, it seems hardly possible that this clause was followed by a penal prescription, which according to Schwartz, loc. cit., is a characteristic element of the Alexandrian *συγχώρησις* deeds. (Miss Wegener read ἐπερωτηθέντες ὁ τε ὠνούμενος [καὶ ὁ τε Μῶρος καὶ ἡ Πενιέραξ συνεχώρησαν]. For the reading in the text (which is given with all reserve) see 1209 29-30. B.)

## 2237. LOAN OF MONEY.

30·2 × 28·5 cm.

A.D. 498.

A loan of six gold solidi less six carats, made to Aurelius Theodorus, lawyer, of Oxyrhynchus, by Flavius Didymus, *praefectorius*. Parallel deeds of loans of money of the end of the fifth century are, e.g., 1130, 1891, 1969, P. Amh. 148. The latter part of the document is in places much defaced by rubbing.

† Μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν τοῦ δεσ[π]οῦ ἡμῶν Φλαουίου Ἀναστασίου τοῦ αἰωνίου

Ἀγούστου τὸ β' Τῦβι κ[αὶ] Ἰνδ[ικτιονος] ε' ἐν Ὁξυρύχων πόλει.

Φλαουίῳ Διδύμῳ τῷ αἰδεσ[ι]μῷ ἐπαρχικῶ νύφ[ε] τοῦ τῆς ἀρίστης μνήμης

Τιμοθέου ἀπὸ τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμ[πρ]οτά[τ]ης Ὁξ[υρ]υχνίτων πόλεως Ἀυρήλιου

- 5 Θεόδωρος υἱὸς τοῦ τῆς μακαρί[α]ς [μ]νήμης Μεγάλου τοῦ καὶ Διδύμου νομκάριος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως ἐξῆ[ς] ὑ]πογράφων ἰδ[ί]οις γράμμ[α]σι χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ ἐσχηκέναι παρὰ τῆς σῆς ἀδελφότητος ἐν χρήσει διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οὐκὸν αὐτῆς εἰς ἰδίαν μου καὶ ἀναγκαίαν χρεῖαν χρυσοῦ] νομισμάτια ἀπλὰ δεσποτικά δόκιμα ἀριθμῶ ἐξ ἰδιωτικῶ ζυγῶ τῆς Ὁξυρυνχιτῶν παρὰ κεράτια ἐξ, γί[ν]εται χρ[υ]σοῦ] νο[μισμάτια] 5 π[α]ρὰ κε[ράτια] 5,
- 10 ἄπερ ἐκτὸς τυγχάνοντα παντὸς κινδύνου ἐπάναγκες ἀποδώσω τῇ σῇ θαυμασιότητι ἐν τῷ Παχῶν μηνὶ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους ροδ ρμγ τῆς παρουσίας ἑκτῆς ἰνδικτιῶνος ἀνπερβέτους. εἰ δὲ τῆς προειρημένης προθεσμίας ἐνισταμένης . . . . . ἀγνωμοσύνην ποιήσομαι τοῦ εἰρημένου χρέους βουληθείη[ς] ἀλλ[ή]την δοῦ]μ[ε] μοι ἡμετέρα αἰτήσῃ, ὁμολογῶ
- 15 τοῦ διατρέχοντος χρόνου μετὰ τὴν προθεμίαν χορηγεῖν νόμιμον ἑκατοσταῖον τόκον ἀχρι ἀποδόσεως τελείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀφελήματος ἀποδιδόμενου σοι παρ' ἐμοῦ μετὰ τὴν προθεμίαν εἰ οὕτω τυχοῖν . . . . . οὐ ἢ τῆς εἰσπράξεως γυνομένης σοι παρὰ τε ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων μοι πάντων ὑποκειμένων τῇ ἐκτίσει τοῦδε τοῦ χρέους ἐνεχέρονι λόγῳ καὶ ὑπο]θήκης δικαίῳ. κύριον τὸ γραμματίον ἀπλοῦν
- 20 γραφέν καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεῖς) ὠμολ(όγησα). (2nd hand) Αὐρήλιος Θεόδωρος υἱὸς Μ[εγάλου δ] προγεγραμμένος νομκάρι- [ος] ἔσχον ἐν κεφαλ[αίῳ] χρ[υ]σοῦ ν[ο]μ[ισμάτ]ια ἕ[ξ] παρὰ κε[ράτια] [ἕ]ξ καὶ ἀποδώσω τῇ [προ]θεσμ[ίᾳ]. [καὶ συ]μφωνεῖ μοι πάντα τὰ ἐνεγεγραμμένα [ὡς] πρόκειται καὶ ἰδ[ί]α χειρὶ ὑπογράψας ἐπε[ρ] (ωτηθεῖς) ὠμολ(όγησα).
- (3rd hand) Αὐρήλιος Φιλόξενος ἐκ μητρὸς Ἑραεῖδ[ος] μαρτυρῶ τῷ γραμματίῳ ὡς πρόκ(είται).

(1st hand) \* Di emu Sarapamonos egraf(e).

On the Verso:

- 25 † γρ(αμμάτιον) Θεοδώρου νομκαρίου ἀπὸ τῆς Ὁξυρυνχι(τῶν) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτια) 5 π(αρὰ) κε(ράτια) 5.

1 l. ὑπάρειαν. ῥ perhaps written over an erasure.  
24 l. Sarapammonos

19 l. ἐκτίσει

23 l. Ἑραῖδος

<sup>1</sup> In the 2nd year after the consulship of our Lord Fl. Anastasius the eternal Augustus, Tybi 20, 6th indiction, at Oxyrhynchus. To Fl. Didymus the worshipful *praefectorius*, son of Timotheus of excellent memory of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, Aurelius Theodorus son of Megas alias Didymus of blessed memory, lawyer, of the same city, subscribing with his own

hand, greeting. I acknowledge that I have received from your worship on loan from hand to hand out of your house for my personal and pressing need six unalloyed approved Imperial solidi of gold on the private standard of Oxyrhynchus less six carats, total 6 solidi of gold less 6 carats; which sum free of all risk I am bound to repay to your worship in the month of Pachon of the current 174th which is the 143rd year in the present 6th indiction without any delay. But if, when the term arrives, I make default in the repayment of the said debt and you consent at my request [to grant me a further period], I agree to provide for the time elapsed after the term the legal rate of 1 per cent. till the full repayment of the said debt, which is to be repaid to you by me . . . after the term, or else you are to have the right of execution against me and all my property, which is pledged for the repayment of this loan as security and by right of mortgage. The contract, of which there is a single copy, is valid, and in reply to the formal question I have given my consent. (2nd hand) I, Aurelius Theodorus, son of Megas, the aforesaid lawyer, have received the sum of six solidi of gold less six carats, which I will repay on the appointed day, and I agree to all that is written in the contract as aforesaid and subscribing with my own hand I have given my consent to the formal question (?). (3rd hand) I, Aurelius Philoxenus, son of Heraeus, witness the contract as aforesaid. Written by me Sarapammon.

14 βουληθείη[ς] δὲ ἑ[τέραν] ε[π]η[ρο]μ[ε]ν[α] E.P.W., doubtfully, citing, e.g., 1130 22, P. Amh. 148, 12, Stud. xx. 139, 13, but this seems impossible for reasons of space, nor can the earlier part be reconciled with the visible traces, though the conclusion suits them well enough. The reading in the text seems possible but it is given with all reserve. (B.)

17 Despite by no means negligible traces of letters after τυχοῖν no reading has suggested itself. Something like τοῦ τε κεφαλαίου καὶ τοῦ τόκου might be expected, but this is quite irreconcilable with either the space available or the visible traces. The hand being very irregular, τοῦ κεφαλαίου alone could be got into the space, and one letter looks like λ, but αου cannot be read at the end, and τοῦ is impossible at the beginning. At the end λου or λουα could be read, and at the beginning αε is an easy reading, but ἀκινδύνου does not seem possible. If, as taken in the translation, ἀποδιδόμενου goes with ἀφελήματος, a phrase like ἀνε κινδύνου (not itself a possible reading) may have occurred. (B.)

20-2 In these lines the ink has almost disappeared; the readings printed in the text have been restored with the aid of 1891 22-4, and Stud. xx. 139, but are made only with reserve. Without parallels no continuous decipherment would be possible. (At the end the remains suggest [ἀπ]έλ[υ]α rather than ὠμ[ολ]ό[γη]σα.) B.)

23 Ἑραεῖδος : Ἑραεῖδος E.P.W.

24 The same clerk wrote 1882, of A.D. 497. For the question how far these subscriptions can be taken literally as meaning that the notary actually wrote the document himself (even when ἐγράφη occurs) see 1881 24 n. (B.)

## 2238. DEED OF SURETY.

30.3 × 27.7 cm.

A.D. 551.

The present deed of surety is addressed to Menas, the overseer of the principal church of Oxyrhynchus, by Phoebammon, Elias, and Pantarou. They guarantee the return by Onnophris of the gold stolen by him a few days before, and undertake to produce him when required. See in general Seidl, *Der Eid*, ii. 75, 84 ff.

[† Βασιλείας τοῦ θε[ο]σ[τάτου] κ[α] εἰσεβεστάτου] ἡμῶν δεσπότη Φ[ι]λο[σο]φίου  
Ἰουστ[ιν]ι[αν]οῦ [τ]οῦ α[ὐ]τ[ο]κ[ράτο]ρος Α[ὐ]γουστ[ίνου]  
[καὶ Αὐτο]κράτορος ἔτους κ[ε], τοῖς τὸ θ' μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν Φλαυίου Βασιλίου τοῦ  
λαμπροσάτου Με[σ]σορῆ ἰδ  
ἰνδικτιῶνος ἰδ ἀρχ[ῆ] ἡ ἐν Ὁξυρύνχω πόλει.†

- [Τῷ θα]μμασιωτάτῳ Μηνᾷ υἱῷ τοῦ μακαρίου Πραοῦτος ἐπικειμένῳ τῆς ἀγίας καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας
- 5 [τῷ]ς Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως Αὐρήλιου Φοιβάμμων καὶ Ἑλίας ὁμογενῆσι ἀδελφοὶ ἐκ πατρὸς
- [Ἀνου]π μητρὸς Τεκράμπε καὶ Παντάρου υἱὸς Φιβ μητρὸς Ῥαχὴλ οἱ τρεῖς ὁρμύμενοι ἀπὸ κτήματος
- [...]ης τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχίτου νόμου διαφέροντος τῇ αὐτῇ ἀγίᾳ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ χαίρειν.
- [ὁμο]λογοῦμεν ἐκουσία γνώμη καὶ ἀθαιρέτῳ πρ[ο]α[ι]ρ[έ]σει ἐπομ[νύ]μενοι θεὸν παγκράταρα
- [καὶ τῇ]ν εὐσέβειαν τῆς καλλινίκου τύχης ἐγγυᾶσθαι καὶ ἀναδέχε[σ]θαι παρὰ τῆ(ς) ὑμῶν θαυμασιότητος
- 10 [Αὐρή]λιον Ὀνωφρίων υἱὸν Παμουθίου γενομένου διακόνου μητρὸς Θεκλας ὁρμύμενον καὶ αὐτὸν
- [ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐ]τοῦ κτήματος καὶ πρὸ τούτου παραμένοντα αὐτῇ ἐν τάξει δουλελευθέρου ἐφ' ᾧ τε
- ἡμᾶς παρασκεῖν αὐτὸν δοῦναι τῇ ὑμῶν θαυμασιότητι τὰ πόλοιπα τοῦ αὐτῆς χρυσοῦ τοῦ κλαπέντος παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ὑμῶν οὐκῶ πρὸ ὀλίγων τούτων ἡμερῶν καὶ ὅτε-
- δῆρτε ἐπιζητούμενον αὐτὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς παρὰ τῆς σῆς θαυμασιότητος ἐν οἴα-
- 15 δῆποτε ἡμέρα ταύτης ἔνεκεν τῆς αἰτίας τούτων παραφέρομεν καὶ παραδόσομεν δημοσίᾳ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως ἐκτὸς ἀγίων περιβόλων καὶ θείων χαρακτήρων καὶ παντὸς τόπου προσφυγῆς, ἔνθα αὐτὸν καὶ παρελήφαμεν ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ τοῦ νοσοκομίου τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας ἐκτὸς οἰουδήποτε λόγου δοθέντος αὐτῷ ἢ δοθησομένου, εἰς τοῦτο μόνον τὸ κεφάλαιον ἢ εἰ μὴ τοῦτο ποιήσομεν ὁμολογοῦμεν
- 20 ἐξ ἀλληλεγγῆς ἡμεῖς οἱ τούτου ἐγγυηταὶ ὑπεύθυνοι εἶναι πᾶσιν τοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν [ἐπι]ζητούμενοις ἀποκρίνασθαι ὑποθέμενοι εἰς τὸ δίκαιον ταύτης τῆς ἐγγυῆς [ἄ]παντα ἡμῶν τὰ ὑπάρχοντά καὶ ὑπάρξ(οντα) ἰδικῶς καὶ γενικῶς ἐνεχύρου λόγῳ καὶ [ὑπο]θήκης δικαίῳ. κυρία ἢ ἐγγυῆ ἀπλή γραφεῖσα καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθέντες) ὡμολογήσαμεν.
- (2nd hand) [Αὐ]ρήλιου Φοιβάμμων καὶ Ἑλίας ὁμογενῆσι ἀδελφοὶ ἐκ πατρὸς Ἀνουπ καὶ Παντάρου
- 25 υἱὸς Φιβ οἱ προγ[ε]γραμμένοι πεποιήμεθα τῆνδε τὴν ἐγγυῆν ἀποδεχόμενοι τὸν αὐτὸν Ὀνωφρίων
- [υἱὸν Πα]μοῦθ[ι]ου σ[υ]γναφερόμενοι ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐγγυῇ κίνδυνον ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς ἡμῶν

[εὑπορίας] κ[αὶ τῶν δι]αφ(ερόντων) ἡμῶν πάντο(ν) ὡς πρόκ(ειται) καὶ ἐπερ(ωτη-  
θέντες) ὡμολογ(ήσαμεν) καὶ ἀπελύσαμεν. Ἀππια[υ]δ[ι]ς  
[.....δι]ά[κων] ἐγραφα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀγραμμ(άτων) ὄντων.†  
(1st hand) \* di emu Victoros eteliothe.....ιδ ἰ(ν)δικ(τινος) ιδ.

2 l. ὑπατεῖαν 3 ιδ (so too l. 29 bis), τε 6 υἱος (so too l. 10) 9 ἐγ'γ (so too ll. 20, 21, 23  
11 2nd λ of δουλελευθέρου corr. from ι; the writer was beginning to write δουλειας 12 ὑμων 15  
l. τοῦτον, παραδόσομεν 19 2nd ο of 2nd τούτου corr. from ω (or vice versa) 22 l. εἰδικῶς 27 l. πάντων  
28 ὑπερ 29 ιδικ/

In the 25th year of the reign of our most godlike and pious master Fl. Justinian the eternal Augustus and Imperator, the 9th year after the consulship of Fl. Basilius the most illustrious, Mesore 14, 14th indiction, at the beginning of the 15th, in the city of Oxyrhynchus. To the most worshipful Menas, son of the late Praous, overseer of the holy Catholic church of the city of Oxyrhynchus, from Aurelius Phoebammon and Aurelius Elias, full brothers, sons of Anoup, their mother being Tecrampe, and Aurelius Pantarou, son of Phib, his mother being Rachel, all three natives of the estate of . . . ne in the Oxyrhynchite nome, belonging to the same holy Catholic church, greeting. We acknowledge of our own free will and deliberate choice, swearing by God Almighty and the piety of the gloriously triumphant genius, that we are surety and pledge to your worship for Aurelius Onnophris, son of the late deacon Pamuthius, his mother being Thecla, also a native of the said estate and formerly serving you in the capacity of a freedman. We engage that we will cause him to give to your worship what remains over of your gold, which was stolen by him in your house a few days ago, and whenever he is required of us for this cause by your worship at any date, we will bring him forward and produce him in a public place in this city, without recourse to holy precincts, divine images, or any attempt at asylum, in the prison of the hospital of the same holy church where we have become his surety, without any reason given or to be given to him, on this charge only. If we do not do this we, his sureties, acknowledge on our mutual security our responsibility to answer for all that is required of him, pledging for the due discharge of this pledge all our property present and future, in particular and in general, as security and by right of mortgage. The warranty, of which there is a single copy, is valid, and in reply to the formal question we have given our consent. (2nd hand) We, Aurelius Phoebammon and Aurelius Elias, full brothers, sons of Anoup, and Aurelius Pantarou, son of Phib, the aforesaid, have given this warranty, becoming surety for the said Onnophris, son of Pamuthius (?), jointly certifying in this warranty our own risk and that of our property and all our possessions as aforesaid, and in reply to the formal question we have given our consent. I, Appianus . . . deacon, have written for them, as they are illiterate. (1st hand?) By me, Victor, the contract was made . . . 14th indiction.

2 τοῖς τὸ θ: the year is really the 10th. For this mistake see 133 2 n.

3 For indictions beginning in Mesore see *J.E.A.* xiv. 124.

4 ἐπικειμένῳ: for this use of the word see P. Lond. 1332, 5 n.

καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας: for the meaning to be attached to this expression see Edward Rochie Hardy's note on P. Col. Inv. 553, 17 in *Annuaire de l'Inst. de Phil. et d'Hist. Or. et Slaves*, vii (1939-44), 139. As he remarks, the note on 1900, 3-7, requires modification. (B.)

6 ἀπὸ κτήματος: on the property of the church in Egypt see E. R. Hardy, *Large Estates*, pp. 44-7.

9 [καὶ τῇ]ν εὐσέβειαν τῆς καλλινίκου τύχης: a very short variant of the formulae given by Seidl, op. cit., pp. 9-10.

11 δουλελευθέρου: this word is rare; the only citation in L. and S. is Vett. Val. 7. 8.

12 τὰ πόλοιπα: perhaps it would be better to read τὰ (δ)πόλοιπα.

16 τῶν χαρακτήρων: cf. P. Cairo Masp. iii. 67296 intr.

17 ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ: there is no improbability in the supposition that the hospital had its own prison; hence 'prison' is a better rendering than 'custody'. For private prisons see Hardy, op. cit., p. 69, and Seidl, op. cit., p. 86 n. 2.

19 κεφάλαιον: probably rather 'point', 'subject', than 'sum' (as Miss Wegener took it); cf.,

e.g., 67 18-19, ἐπὶ δνοὶ κεφαλαίους τὴν ἔραναν ποιούμενον, πρώτου μ[ε]ν εἶ κτλ., δευτέρου δὲ εἶ κτλ., P. Cairo Masp. 67032, 70-1, ἐκβιβάσαι π[ι]νάτας τοὺς [ύ]μ[ε]τέρους [ἀ]ν[τι]δικούς τοὺς ἐντεταγμένους καὶ ἀποδεικνυμένους ἐπὶ παντὶ κεφαλῆ[ι] ἀνήκοντι ὑμῖν κατ' αὐτῶν. (B.)

22 ἰδικῶς καὶ γενικῶς: for this formula see 1895 15 n., and P. Ross-Georg. iii. 32, 13 n.

27 πάντο(ν) ὡς: for this one should perhaps read πάντ<ων> ὡς; the ο and ω coalesce, and it is possible that the writer, intending to correct ο (of παντων), changed ο to ω and then, forgetting he had not completed παντων, wrote s for ὡς. (B.)

29 See 2237 24 n. Here the word *eteliothe* certainly does not imply that a subordinate may not have written the body of the contract. What follows *eteliothe* is on the whole best taken as shorthand. The first character is like ξ and the fourth, fifth, and sixth could be read (so Miss Wegener, tentatively) *aug(ustio)*, but this is rather forcing the last two. It may well be, however, that the whole is shorthand for *ἔτους κτ̄ Μεσορή* (or *Augusto*). (B.)

## 2239. CONTRACT OF AN OVERSEER.

33.5 × 28.9 cm.

A.D. 598.

The present contract is made by Jeremias with Fl. Johannes, the owner of a large estate in the Oxyrhynchite nome, through Fl. Julius, his superintendent. It is closely parallel to 136 and 1894. It supplies important new evidence on the functions of the *ἐπικείμενος* in a large estate, about which our evidence has hitherto been scanty; cf. Hardy, *Large Estates*, p. 81. Moreover it differs from its parallels inasmuch as in 136 and 1894 the engagement respectively of a *προνοητής* and of a *μίσθιος τῶν προνοητῶν* is for one year only, whereas here no mention of time is made. A further difference is that in our document the applicant already styles himself *ἐπικείμενος*, adding that he has paid his entrance-fee. This may suggest that the document is a renewal of a former contract, possibly to be made every year; but the payment of an *εἰσβατικόν* is against this; see I. 21 n. There is no subscription. On the verso is a document in shorthand.

[† Ἐν δνόματι τ]ο[υ] κυρίου [καὶ δεσπότης Ἰησοῦ Χρ]ι[στοῦ] θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος ἡμῶν. βασιλείας [τοῦ θ]εοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐσεβ[ε] (εσάτου)

[ἡμῶν δεσπότης] μεγίστου ἐνεργήτου Φλαουίου Μαυρικίου Νέου Τιβερίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αἰγυπτίου καὶ Αἰγυπτιακοῦ

[ἔτους 15 ὑ]πατίας τοῦ αἰγυπτίου ἐνσεβ[ε] (εσάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπότης ἔτους 15 Φαῶφι ἡν ἰνδ(ικτίονος) δευτέρας.†

Φλαουίω Ἰωάννη τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ στρατηλάτῃ τέκνῳ καὶ κληρονόμῳ τῆς ἐν [ἐν]δόξῳ τῇ μνήμῃ Εὐφημίας γεουχοῦντι καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ Ὁξυρυχ(ιτῶν) πόλει διὰ σοῦ Φλαουίου

Ἰουλίῳ τοῦ περιβλέπ(του) κόμ[ε]τ[ος] καὶ δια[ι]κητοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰερημίας γέ[γ]ρων ἐπικείμενος τῆς ὑμῶν ἐνδοξ(ότητος)

υἱὸς τοῦ θαυμασιωτάτου Φοιβάμμων[ος] ἐξῆς ὑπογράφων ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως.

ὁμολογῶ ἔκουσία γνώμη καὶ ἀναίρετῳ προαιρέσει συντεθεῖσθαι με πρὸς τὴν ὑμῶν

ἐνδοξ(ότητος) διὰ τῶν αὐτῇ διαφερόντων ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον καὶ προγεγραμμέ(της) ἡμέρας ἦτις

10 ἐστὶν Φαῶφι τριακαδικῆ τῆς παρουσίας δευτέρας ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ἐ[π]ὶ τῷ με χώραν ἐπικει[μ]έ(νου) παρὰ ὑμ[ε]ν

ἀποπληρώσαι ἐν πάσῃ τῇ προστασίᾳ τῆς ὑμῶν ἐνδοξ(ότητος) καὶ πᾶσαν φιλοκαλείαν καὶ καλλιέργιαν

ἐν τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἀγροικαῖς πράγμασιν ἐνδείξασθαι εἰς τε τὰ . . . ἡν νεόφυτα καὶ εἰς τὰ μεγάλα

γεουχικά, χωρὶς καὶ ὁμολογῶ [πα]ρασκευάσαι τρῶς πάντας γεωργούς τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐνδοξ(ότητος) ἐν ἐκάστῳ

τούτῳ καὶ ἐν ἐκάστῳ κτήματι [τῆ]ς αὐτῆς οὐσίας [σ]τείρει τὰς γεουχικὰς μηχανὰς καὶ φυτεῦσαι

15 ἀκανθέας καὶ ἐτοιμῶς ἔχε[ι]ν πᾶσαν σπουδὴν συνεισενεγκεῖν εἰς βελτίονα ὄψιν τὰ ὑμέτερα

γεουχικὰ ἀγρ[ο]ικὰ πράγματα ἐντεθῆναι καὶ δέξασθαι με παρὰ τῆς ὑμῶν ἐνδοξ(ότητος) λόγῳ μισθοῦ

τοῦ ἐναντιοῦ σίτρο[υ] καγκέλλῳ ἀρτάβ[α] (s) τριάκοντα ἔξ καὶ χρυσοῦ νομίσματα ἔξ παρὰ κεράτια εἴκοσι ἐπτά

ἰδιωτικῶ ζυγῶ καὶ οἴνου κνίδιμα ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ κριθῆς ἀρτάβας εἴκοσι τεσσάρων καὶ πάσας

τὰς συνθηκὰς αἷς εἴψην λαβεῖν ὁ αὐτὸς ἐπικείμε(νος) κατὰ τὸ ἔθος παρὰ τῶν γεωργῶν εἴτε

20 ἐν σίτῳ καὶ ἐν οἴνῳ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις εἴδεσιν. ὁμολογῶ δὲ δεδωκέναι τῇ ὑμ[ε]ν ἐνδοξ(ότητι) λόγῳ

εἰσβατικοῦ χρυσοῦ νομίσματ[α] τρι[ε]κόντα πληραῖα ζυγῶ Ἀλεξανδρείας ὑποβέμενος εἰς τὸ

δίκαιον τοῦ αὐτοῦ συναλλάγ[μ]ατος πάντ[α] μου τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ ὑπ[α]ρξόντα [ἰ]δ[ι]κ[α]ῶς

καὶ κενικῶς ἐνεχέρου λόγῳ καὶ ὑποθήκης δικαίῳ. κύριον τὸ συν[υ]λλάγμα [ἀ]π[ο]λ[ο]γ[ε]ν γραφ(ἐν)

καὶ ἐπερω[τ]ηθ(εἰς) ὁμολόγη(σα).†

3 l. ὑπατίας ἰνδ (so too 10) 5 φλαουίου 6 ἰουλιου, Ἰερημίας, ἡμ (so too 8, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16) 7 υἱὸς ὑπογράφων 11 l. φιλοκαλείαν 12 . . . νεοφ. 14 l. τότῳ 16 γεουχικὰ ἀγρ. 19 τὰς συνθη. 20 δε' δεδωκεναι 21 ὑποθ (so too 23) 22 ὑπαρ. bis; l. εἰδικῶς 23 l. γενικῶς

' In the name of our Lord and Master Jesus Christ, our God and Saviour. In the 17th year of the reign of our most godlike and pious master and greatest benefactor Fl. Mauricius Novus Tiberius, the eternal Augustus and Imperator, which is the 16th after the consulship of our said most pious master, Phaophi 13, 2nd indiction. To Fl. Johannes, the most renowned *stratelates*, child and heir of Euphemia, of renowned memory, landholder here also in the illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, through you, Fl. Julius, the noble count and his superintendent, from Jeremias the elder (?), overseer of your honour, son of the most worshipful Phoebammon, subscribing below with his own hand, native of the same city. I acknowledge that of my own free will and deliberate choice I have made a contract with your honour through your representatives from the present aforementioned day, which is the thirteenth of Phaophi in the present second indiction, undertaking to fill the post of your overseer in the whole direction of your honour's affairs and to employ every care and efficiency in the cultivation of your estate with regard alike to the new plantation and to the large estate plants. Furthermore I acknowledge also that I will cause all the labourers of your honour in every place and every holding of the same estate to sow the fields of the estate, to plant acacias, and to be ready to show every zeal in bringing your landed estates into better condition, and that I am to receive from your honour by way of salary for the year thirty-six artabae of wheat by the *cancellus* measure, six solidi of gold less twenty-seven carats on the private standard, eighty jars of wine, twenty-four artabae of barley, and all the usual perquisites which the said overseer is accustomed to receive from the labourers whether in wheat or wine or other products. And I acknowledge that I have given to your honour by way of entrance-fee thirty solidi of gold in full on the standard of Alexandria, pledging for the right of this contract all my property present and future in particular and in general as security and by right of mortgage. The contract, of which there is a single copy, is valid, and in reply to the formal question I have given my consent.'

3 [ἔτους ιζ': the year after the consulship is the 16th, the indiction the 2nd. The 2nd indiction was A.D. 598-9. In some documents dated under Maurice we find that the consulship is to the regnal year  $x$  as  $x-1$ , in others as  $x-2$ ; see on this subject P. Mon. 10, 1-4 n. If it is here the former the regnal year should be the 17th (A.D. 598-9), if the latter the 18th (A.D. 599-600). Since the indiction is clear and perhaps on the whole less likely to be erroneous than either the regnal or the consular year, it seems best to date this contract in A.D. 598 and read ιζ' here. (B.)

4 στρατηλάτη: see 2231 15-16 n. Though, as there stated, the title was used in Byzantine times as the Greek equivalent of *magister militum*, it was often employed loosely and is found applied even to commanders of local garrison troops. It is best therefore to leave the word untranslated; see P. Mon. 2, 5 n. (B.)

5 Εὐφηνίας: see 1035 (A.D. 568) and E. R. Hardy, *Large Estates*, pp. 40, 41.

6 διαίκτηρον: see Hardy, op. cit., pp. 80, 87.

ἡ[ρ]ων: a doubtful reading and somewhat unexpected, but palaeographically quite possible, nor is it easy to find a tolerable alternative. The epithet is not uncommon in papyri. In P. Lond. 1601, 16, 1693, 7 and elsewhere it precedes the name, with the definite article, but in P. Goodsp. 30, xxiii, 16, xxviii, 12, xxxvii, 22 it follows, as here. (B.)

10-16 Unlike the steward who makes a contract with the heirs of Fl. Apion in 136 Jeremias is *ἐπικέμενος* of the whole estate, not of a portion only. The Apion family was of course a more important one than that of Euphemia, but the *καί* before *ἐνταῦθα* in l. 5 shows that the latter's property also extended beyond the Oxyrhynchite nome. As no limit of time is mentioned this appointment may have been renewable from year to year or have been held at the pleasure of the employer. In the first case this may not be the first year of stewardship; but the mention of the *εἰσβατικόν* (l. 21 n.) seems to suggest that it was. Mr. Roberts points out that the amount (30 solidi) suggests a long-term appointment. (B.)

12 . . υν: above the  $\nu$  are traces of a letter. The scribe has either made a correction or abbreviated a word. The contrast appears to be between recent and old cultivation.

14 τούτω: the reading is quite clear. It shows that this papyrus was copied from a written draft in which the scribe misread *τονω* as *τονω*, an easy mistake at this period. (B.)

[σ]η[ε]ρα[ι]: ἄγε[ε]ρα[ι] E.P.W., translating 'to collect the machines belonging to the estate'. Rubbing makes it impossible to read with any confidence the letters before *ε[ρ]α[ι]*, but the reading in the text

seems certain on general grounds. For the frequent use of *μηχανή* at this period as = 'field under cultivation' see P. Lond. 1741, 5 n. (B.)

15 ἀκανθέας: acacias were a good deal used for timber (see, e.g., P. Lond. iv, index), but a determining reason for planting them was probably their utility in strengthening the dykes; cf. P. Mich. v. 349 (A.D. 30), in which an undertaking is given to plant 150 mulberry-trees *ἐν τῷ* (l. τοῦ) *περὶ τὰς τρακκοσίας ἀρούρας χόμασιν*. (B.)

16-18 We have here for the first time a full statement of the salary received by an employee of an estate; cf. Hardy, op. cit., pp. 92-3.

18 κνίδια: cf. Segrè, *Metr. e circ. monetaria*, p. 52, n. 3.

18-20 This shows that it was regular and fully recognized for the overseer to increase his income by means of perquisites; cf. Hardy, op. cit., pp. 91-2.

21 εἰσβατικῶν: hitherto found only in P. Lond. ii, p. 333, 393 (6th or 7th cent.), where the meaning is not clear; it is by no means certain that it is there a tax, as taken in L. and S. Here it is evidently used in its etymological meaning and is equivalent to the *παρομύθια* paid by Serenus in 136. One would expect it to be paid once only, not every year in the case of appointments renewable annually; hence it is probable that the present contract marks the beginning of Jeremias' tenure of his post, but see above, introduction.

νομίσμα[τ]α: the entrance-fee paid by Serenus in 136 was only 12 solidi, but his charge was a much more limited one than that of Jeremias.

πληρία: a doubtful reading, especially as the word is unrecorded; but cf. *πληρία* in Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, with the reference 'S 112, 43 [VII], ἀριθμῶ καὶ -ρηαῶ οραθμῶ (Kaufpreiszahlung)'. (No such abbreviated reference as 'S' is specified at the beginning of the *Wörterbuch*, and attempts to trace the papyrus meant have failed.) (B.)

22-3 [ἡ]κῶς καὶ κενικῶς: cf. 2238 22 n.

23 [ἀπ]λοῦν: this suits the space better than *διπλοῦν*.

## (e) ACCOUNTS

## 2240. ACCOUNT OF A LARGE ESTATE.

26.8 x 25.4 cm.

A.D. 211.

The papyrus contains on the recto the fifteenth and sixteenth columns of the account of a large estate; cf. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, pp. 174-228. It has been cut off on the right and left sides and is broken at the bottom. The first part of the document is a list of arrears owed to the landlord from the eleventh (see l. 2 n.) till the nineteenth year (ll. 1-10). In the last part (ll. 20 ff.) the expenses are listed. The property concerned is from l. 6 onwards situated in the village of Athychis in the Oxyrhynchite nome. The account has been checked later, for in the last column there are notes and marks before several lines in the intercolumnar space by other hands, one of which also wrote ll. 47-8. The date of the document is the current nineteenth year of an unnamed emperor (l. 41), who, for palaeographical and chronological reasons, must be Caracalla. On the verso is written the account published below as 2242.

Col. i.

16

[ ] Μέλας δφέλλ(ει) (ὑπέρ) σπ[ον]δ(ή)ς μισθώσεως ἰβ (ἔτους) (δραχμὰς) δ  
 ι (ἔτους) [(δρ.)] δ ια ἰβ (δρ.) η μ[ε]σ[θ]ώ[σ]ι[σ]ι[σ]ι[ε]ως) ?] σωμα[τ]ι[σ]θ(είσης)  
 [δ]νόμα[τ]ι(ς) Στεφανοῦτος (δρ.) δ αἰ (λοῦται) (δρ.) δ.

I

[καὶ ἀπὸ ἰε (ἔτους)] ἀνὰ χεῖρα ἕως ἰγ (ἔτους) ἐτῶν γ̄ ἐκ (δρ.) ξ̄ (δρ.) ρπ καὶ ἐκτά-  
 κτ(ων) ταρειχ(ηρόν) γάρ[ο]ν τῆς  
 5 [ἰχθύας?]  
 [ .ας μητ(ρός) Ἑρᾶτος ἀπὸ κώμης Ἀθύχεως ἀπὸ λόγ(ου) χειρογρ(αφίας)  
 [ι]β (ἔτους)  
 [ ] (λοιπή) (δρ.) α  
 [ ]ασ[.]σ.λλ[.].. ἐκφο(ρίου) ιβ (ἔτους) (ἀρουρῶν) εἰ' ἀποτάκτου (ἀρτάβας)  
 λς σπερμ(άτων) (ἀρτ.) ε̄ διαφό(ρου)  
 [ . . . ] τὰς μετ[ρη]θ(είσας) εἰς τὸ δη(μόσιον) (πυροῦ ἀρτ.) μγς' λοιπ(ή) (ἀρτ.)  
 σ̄ διαφό(ρου) ἰγ (ἔτους) ιδ (ἔτους) ιε (ἔτους) ἐτῶν  
 10 [γ̄ . . . . .] μισθ(ώσεως) [(δρ.)] δ  
 [ . . . . .] [ . . . ] ἐν τῇ α(ὐτῇ) Ἀθύχει διὰ "Ωρου "Ωρου μητ(ρός) Δημητηρίας  
 [ . . . . .] β̄ καὶ ἀπὸ ιδ (ἔτους) ἀνὰ χεῖρα ἕως ια (ἔτους) ἐτῶν δ̄ ἐκ (δρ.) οβ  
 [(γίνονται) (δρ.) σπη. . . . .] ἐπι Ἐπειφ̄ σ̄ ἀπὸ (δρ.) μ τὸ ς' (δρ.) κ̄ λοιπ(αῖ) (δρ.)  
 νβ [ι]θ (ἔτους) (δρ.) οβ (γίνονται) (δρ.) χκη  
 [ . . . . .] ἐκ[φ]ο(ρίου) ἰγ (ἔτους) (ἀρούρας) αε' ἐν (πυρῶ) ἀπὸ κοίτ(ης) (ἀρου-  
 ρῶν) ιβ ε.. ( ) τροχ( ) ἀπ[οτ]ά(κτου) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτ.) θ  
 15 [ . . . . .] αὐ[τ]ῆς (ἀρτ.) [.] d' χβ̄ διαφό(ρου) εκγ' = (ἀρτ.) d' χδ̄ [.] αρ.τ[.]..ι  
 [(ἀρτ.)] χθ  
 [ . . . . .] (ἀρτ.) δε' ἰ[ο] διαφό(ρου) σπερμ(άτων) ιδ (ἔτους) ιε (ἔτους) (ἀρτ.)  
 αd' χδ̄[.]θ  
 [ . . . . .] ὀφείλ(ει) ἀπὸ λόγου συνώνης ἄρακος ις [(ἔτους) . . . . .]  
 [ . . . . .] ἐκ (ἀρτ.?) ς' (γίνονται) (ἀρτ.) β (δρ.?) μ[. . . . .]  
 [ . . . . .] εἰς . (ἀρτ.) ἄρακος (δρ.) η  
 20 [ . . . . .] ἀρ[α]φο[ς] ἔσχ(εν) δι(ὰ) Βησαρίω(νος) εἰς πλ(άσων) πλιν[θ]ων. . . . .  
 [ . . . . .] ψς̄ διὰ ἀπ(ολόγου) ἰη (ἔτους) κολ(λήματος) ιδ δηλ(οῦται), (γίνονται)  
 (δρ.) η = [ . . . . .]  
 [ . . . . .] ρυ (ἀρτ.) ἀς̄ πλείω ἔσχ(εν) διὰ λόγ(ου) Βη[σα]ρίωνος. . . . .  
 [ . . . . .] λ( ) [.] ψς̄ δι(ὰ) [το]ῦ α(ὐτοῦ) ἀπ(ολόγου) δηλ(οῦται) ὥστ(ε) .  
 [ . . . . .]  
 . . . . .

[ ις ]  
 25 a (2nd hand) ἐπ' ὀνόμ(ατος) 25 Παποντῶς Ὀχεύριος καὶ Νααράω[ς]  
 25 b αὐτῶν ἔσχαν εἰς ἑκακαφῆν κρήνης εἶν ]  
 25 c ἐκτεθέν(τες) νίωνος (δρ.) σ, παρὰ δὲ Βησαρίω[ος] ὡς διὰ τοῦ. . . ]  
 25 d (δρ.) σεφ ἀπ(ολόγου) δηλ(οῦται) διὰ λόγ(ου) Βησαρίωνος ρπ. [ ]  
 25 e ἵνα πάρ- δευτέρου ξύλλ(ου) ναυβ(ίων) ιζ̄ κῆ ὡς τ[οῦ]  
 25 f αὐτα θεοθῆ (δρ.) σεφ̄ ἀπὸ τῶ[ν]  
 25 g Αἰσχόλω (δρ.) κδ̄ (δρ.) ξβ̄f (γίνονται) (δρ.) σεφ̄ ἀπὸ τῶ[ν]  
 30 \* (δρ.) ἰη (ἔτους) Ἀθῦρ κε κολ(λήματος) γ δι(ὰ) "Ωρου (δρ.) ιβ[ ]  
 Νααρούως χωλὸς ἀρχέφοδος κ[ώ]μης Ἀθύχεως  
 \* τῶ ιε (ἔτει) ἐπ' αὐτῶ ὄντι ἀρχεφόδω [ ]  
 παραγενομ(ένος) (δρ.) ρ μεθ' ἀς̄ ἔσχε ὁ α(ὐτός) Σα[ ]  
 35 μετὰ τὰς β̄ γ' δι(ὰ) λόγ(ου) Βησαρίωνος ἔσ[ι]χε  
 Δαναεῖ τοῦ ἀπ(ολόγου?) (δρ.?) Γ' ἄλ(λας) (δρ.) ε̄ (γίνονται)  
 (δρ.) κς̄  
 δεφμη( ) .ηλ( ) Διονυσίου (δρ.) θ- αἰ λ[οιπ(αῖ)] (δρ.)  
 Δεῖος Ψυνοτότη[ς] μητρὸς T[ ]  
 ἐν τῇ αὐτ(ῇ) Ἀθύχ(ει) ἐν τοῖς ἀπὸ λιβὸς μεί[ρεσι]  
 40 // αὐτῆς κέλλης αὐλήν σὺν τῇ οὐσίῃ ἐν α(ὐτῇ)  
 τοῦ ἐνεστῶτ(ος) ιθ (ἔτους) ὄλου τοῦ ἐνια(υτοῦ) ἀπὸ [ ]  
 θεραπεῦσαι τῶ γεούχω ἀμμοθεῖ δο[ ]  
 οὖν ἔργον [παρ]έχοντος τοῦ γεού[χ]ου  
 (2nd hand) (λοιπαῖ) (δρ.) μδ̄f ιθ (ἔτους) Ἀθῦρ κγ̄ (δρ.) α κ[αῖ] σίτ[ου] (ἀρτ.)  
 45 καὶ θερ(απειαν) τῆς δορᾶς [ ]  
 καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Φαρμ(οῦθι) ιθ (δρ.) [ ]  
 (3rd hand?) (ὄν) (λοιπαῖ?) .. λόγων Θεώνος. [ ]  
 καὶ . λόγω λημ(μάτων) τρῶ α(ὐτοῦ) Θεώνος κβ̄. . . [ ]  
 (2nd hand?) . . . εκ( ) αὐ( ) (1st hand) Σαρᾶς βουλ(ευτῆς) ἐνοικ(ιολόγος) το[ῦ]  
 50 // αωνο(s) εἰς ἐγ̄ βορρᾶ μ[έ]ρη

41 ἐνεστω<sup>τ</sup> CORR. FROM ἐνεστω<sup>ς</sup>  
 2 The readings in this line are very doubtful, not on palaeographical grounds, for they are all strongly suggested by the traces, but owing to difficulties of interpretation. If they are correct, we must apparently suppose that εS is an error for ιS or ια an error for ι, more probably the former, and translate the whole entry: 'Melas owes for extra payment on the lease of the 12th year 4 drachmae, of the 1<1>th year 4 dr., 11th and 12th years (together) 8 dr., for the lease booked in the name of

Stephanous 4 dr., remainder 4 dr.' Thus the *σπονδή* on the lease for Stephanous is for some reason deducted from the total debt, perhaps because Melas had paid it on her behalf and was credited with the amount. For the various meanings of *σωματίζω* see, e.g., P. Thead. 5, 19 n., P. Mich. vi. 367, 12 n. It has normally an official application and if correctly read here may suggest a sub-lease of domain lands, but an extension of an official term to denote an entry in the estate records is not impossible. (B.)

*Μέλας*: this word, of which the *μ* is partly cut off, could be the first word of the line. It is, however, clear from ll. 3 and 5 that there is a small lacuna at the beginning of each line. Perhaps X δ καί]. *σπονδῆς*: cf. P. Berl. Leihg. 20, 9 n.; Eitrem, 'A few remarks on *σπονδή*, θαλλός', in *Symb. Oslo*, xvii (1937), 26-48, esp. 40-1.

4 [καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ (έτους)]: cf. l. 12. It would perhaps suit the space rather better to omit *καί*. The meaning of ἀπὸ *χεῖρα* (see Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, ii, col. 726) is regularly 'current' or 'currently'. In the papyrus published by Roberts, Skeat, and Nock, 'The Guild of Zeus Hypsistos', in *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, 1936, p. 55, it appears to indicate time up to but not including the present; see their remarks on p. 55 there. Literally it corresponds to our 'on hand'. There is therefore no justification for taking it in 1743 2, 8 as equivalent to *διὰ χειρός*: 'currently paid' (or 'payable') suits that context well enough. It is not clear what kind of payment is meant here. It includes both money and a payment in kind. Here the former amounts to 60 drachmae a year, in l. 12 to 72; but of course the size of the holding may have differed.

*ἐκτάκτω*(ων): or *ἐκτακτ(ων)*, agreeing with *γάρων*. (B.) *ἐκτακτα*, like *ἐξάερα*, were an extra payment in kind (cf. 1631 22 n. and 1207 8 n.), whereas a *σπονδή* was often paid in cash, as in l. 2 here.

4-5 *παρεῖχ(ηρόν) γάρω* is not a quite satisfactory reading, as it involves the supposition that the clerk wrote *γάρω*, nor is the over-written letter very easily read as *ν* (*γάρω* or *γάρω*) could be read), but the word may almost certainly be taken as either *γάρων* or *γάρως* (neuter); both forms are found. *χθόνας* (for the form cf., e.g., P.S.I. iii. 160, 8) is read merely *exempli gratia*. (B.)

6 *χειροχρ(αφίας)*: a payment of 1 drachma on account of an affidavit occurs, e.g., in 1650 15, an account of freight to Memphis; cf. Wallace, *Taxation*, pp. 262-4.

8 *ἐφορίου*: here this word seems to cover both the rent proper (*ἀποτάκτου*) and the repayment for seed. (B.)

*διαφό(ρου)*: in the present document the meaning of *διάφορον* is 'interest' (cf., e.g., P. Gen. 9, 8 and 1040 10, 11, &c.); for another use of the word see P. Berl. Leihg. i. 1, 20 n. Owing to the lacuna at the beginning of the next line we do not know on what the *διαφο* *ων* is here payable; perhaps on the loan of seed as in 1040. The amount appears to be 2 artabae.

9 Perhaps *μετὰ τὰς μετ[ρη]θ(είσας)*. From here onwards the lacuna is larger than in preceding lines by the amount indicated by the dots. *Ϟ* = *ήμιον*.

10 Probably *σπονδῆς* may be supplied before *μισθ(ώσεως)*; cf. l. 2 n. It is not possible to connect these words with *διαφό(ρου)* in the preceding line, for the 'extra for the lease' is 4 drachmae per year.

12 *ἀπὸ*: perhaps deleted by a stroke through it. (B.)

13 *Ϛ* = *ήμιον*. The lacunae in this and the preceding line make it impossible to say how the remainder of 52 drachmae or the sum of 628 drachmae was arrived at.

14 *ε . . . ( ) τροχ( )*: *ἐν ἀναπαύμασι* τὸ δ E.P.W., with a note admitting the uncertainty of the extension *ἀναπαύμασι*. The meaning would be that, despite the *ἐν (πυρῶ)*, a quarter of the area was under light crops. But the reading seems quite impossible; after *τ* are clear traces of what looks like *ρ*, and *χ* (not *δ*; *δ'* would in that case have to be read) is certain. What precedes might be *εν*, *εργ*, or *εργ*. Apart from the context, *ἐν ἀναπαύμασι* is a possible reading. (B.)

15 *διαφό(ρου)*: cf. l. 8 n. The meaning of the abbreviation which follows (the reading is certain) is unknown. *χ<sup>β</sup>* = 2 choenices, and *χ<sup>δ</sup>* (if the *δ* is rightly read; it is an irregular circle, *χ<sup>δ</sup>*) = 4 choenices.

16 Since the over-written *λ* of *οφείλ* in l. 17 is artificially enlarged upwards so as to fill half the space it is probable that nothing is lost on the left between this line and the next. (B.)

17-18 Miss Wegener suggests *ι* [(έτους) *ι*] [(έτους) *ι*] [(έτους) *ι*] [(έτους) *ι*] [(έτων) *δ*] *έκ* (*ἀρτ.*) *Ϛ*. This suits the arithmetic well but makes it necessary to assume that l. 18 began much farther to the right than any other line. (B.)

20 *εις πλ(όου)*: the extension is uncertain, but cf., e.g., P.S.I. 712, 5; see also Reil, *Gewerbe*, pp. 35-7.

21 *διὰ ἀπ(ολόγου)*: it is probable, though not quite certain, that the curved down-stroke after *α* (*α*) stands for *π*.

25a-g A marginal note on ll. 25-31: 'paid out in their name, 205 dr. 3 obols, in order that it may be at once credited to Aeschylus'. For *ἐκτεθέν(τες) λ. ἐκτεθετο(αι)*. In l. 25 *θ* *θεσθῆ* seems clear, though the *θ*, there being no room for it in the line, had to be written below the beginning of l. 28. It is on doubt a vulgarity for *τεθῆ*, 'put to the θέμα' of Aeschylus. (B.)

25 *Οχεύριος*: a new name; it is hardly likely that we should read *δ Χεύριος*, a name which occurs in Preisigke, *Namenbuch*.

26 *έσχαν*: an instance of the practice, common in later Greek, of giving to the second aorist the endings of the first. (B.)

28 *σπ.*: *εις πρ[ο]* E.P.W., but though *ε* can be read for *σ* there seems no trace of a sigma before *π*. *σπ[ρ]* is hardly appropriate here, and the stroke following *π* suits *ρ* or *ι* rather better than *π*. (B.)

29-31 The loss of at least half of each line and probably more makes it hazardous to attempt any restoration and hardly possible to interpret the arithmetic. If the 200 drachmae of l. 27 and the 62 dr. 4 obols of l. 30 are included in the total of 205 dr. 3 obols it is clear that a deduction must have been made from the first of these amounts or that the 62 dr. 4 obols was subtracted from a previous sum. (B.) For *ξόλον* as a measurement see Segrè, *Metrologia*, p. 26 f.; but the preceding *δευτέρου* makes it doubtful whether this is the usual measure.

32-7 Probably payments to the village *ἀρχεφόδος*, either for watching the estate or for researches, undertaken by him on its behalf, into thefts, &c.

34 '100 drachmae accrued over and above those were received by the same Sa—'. Hardly the *Saras* of l. 49. (B.)

35 *β*: this occurs as an abbreviation of *προδιαγραφόμενα* in P. Lond. iii, p. 93 (1170, 7), but the meaning of the *β* which follows here is obscure.

36 *Δαναεῖ*: no such name as *Δαναεός* occurs in either Pape or Preisigke's *Namenbuch*, but both have *Δαναῖς* and *Δαναός* as personal names. Here we have either a variant form *Δαναεῖς* or an irregular dative of *Δαναῖς*. (B.)

(*δρ.?*) *Γ*: neither the *ἀπ(ολόγου)*, which is an alpha followed by a curving downstroke, rather like *ξ*, nor the drachma sign is certain, though both are obviously possible. The doubt arises from the character following. It is not unlike the 3-obol sign (*Γ*), but that is inappropriate after the drachma sign. Either *τ* (900) or *Ϛ* (3000) is conceivable, but neither could be read without reservation. (B.)

37 *δρῆμ( ) . ηλ( )*: the readings seem certain, but no explanation has suggested itself; *δρῆμ( )* does not look like a proper name. The two *etas* have the pot-hook form common in the later first and early second centuries but unusual so late as this, except in abbreviations, and as a numeral ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ). (B.)

*θ*—: what follows *θ* must be the 1-obol sign, despite the unusual dot. (B.)

38-45 These lines probably refer to the lease of a stable. Apparently the lessee, in lieu of rent, was to work for the landowner (l. 42), for which he was to receive from the latter a small gratuity (l. 43 f.).

38 *Δεῖρος Ψυποτήτης*: *Δηουψιν*. [*Σ*] *τροπήτης* E.P.W., but there is no trace of *σ* before the *τ* (there is a narrow hole in the papyrus, but part of *σ* should be visible), and the name should be *Συποτήτης*. *Ψυποτήτης* does not seem to occur elsewhere, but names beginning with *Ψευ-* or *Ψυ-* are common. (B.)

42 *ἀμοθεί*: cf., e.g., 729 9. [*δ*] suggests *δένω* (*εργον*), but *οὐν* seems too far from the beginning of the sentence. B.]

45 *δοράς*: the word *δορά* occurs here for the first time in the papyrus.

47-8 The hand of this addition seems not to be the same as that of the marginal notes, but the apparent difference may be due to compression. (B.)

47 (*δν*): the *minus* sign, like a capital L. What follows looks exactly like the symbol for *λοιπός* and its cases, but the characters following that are uncertain. *διὰ λόγων* does not seem to be possible. See next note. (B.)

48 Before *λογω* is what looks like the symbol used at this period for *αὐτός* and its cases (see P. Lond. iii, index *δα*), but this is not appropriate here. What is wanted is, e.g., *ὕπερ*. What precedes *λόγων* in l. 47 may be the same symbol. May we perhaps read, in l. 47, (*ὕπερ*) *λόγων*, here (*ὕπερ*) *λόγων*? The following readings, except *Θέωνος*, are very uncertain. (B.)

49-50 These lines are the last of this column and probably the end of the document, for they are followed by a blank space of 4.7 cm.

49 In the marginal note perhaps *συνεχ( )*, as tentatively suggested by Miss Wegener, but though *v* is likely enough *σν* is not an easy reading. This may be a proper name, followed by *ἐχ(ει) αὐτ(ή)*. (B.) *ἐνοικ(ολόγος)*: hitherto this employee was known only in the Byzantine period; cf. Hardy, *Large Estates*, p. 93. It is less likely that this abbreviation should be otherwise extended, e.g. as *ἐνοικ(ου)*. It is, however, not possible that a rent-collector wrote these accounts; hence the payment of his salary may have been recorded in these lines. The title *βουλευτής* indicates a date after the grant of senates by Severus.

## 2241. LIST OF RENTS FROM LAND.

20.6 x 23.4 cm.

A.D. 283-4.

The papyrus contains two columns of writing, both of which have lost the lower portion; at the top a margin of 1.5 cm. is preserved. The space between the columns is 2.5 cm.

The document is a list of rents in kind and money from State land. Our first column, which is also the first column of the document, contains the heading, which is in many points parallel to P. Cair. Preis. 9. The part preserved of the list concerns land in the territory of the village of Sinkepha and belonging to the estate called 'Dioscurian'. The entries are *κατ' ἀνδρα*; only two are preserved. Between these there is a blank space of 4 cm. Under the name of the lessees the items are arranged according to *κλήροι*; cf., e.g., 1743. At the end of each entry the total amount to be paid is given. Cf. Déleage, 'Les cadastres antiques', in *Ét. Pap.* ii, p. 140, Hohlwein, 'Le Blé d'Égypte', in *Ét. Pap.* iv, pp. 60-1.

## Col. i.

α

[Ἀπαιτή]σιμον ἐκφορίων καὶ φόρων σιτικ(ῶν) ἐδαφῶ(ν)  
 [τοῦ ἐνε[στ(ῶτος) β (ἔτους) τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Καρείνου  
 [καὶ Νουμ[ε]ριανοῦ Σεβαστῶν. τὸ συντεθὲν  
 5 [ἐκ τῶν προ]τ(έρων) ἀπαιτησίμων καὶ τῆς γενομένης  
 [ὑπὸ Αὐρηλίου?] Σεουήρου τοῦ τῆς οὐσίας γεωμέτ(ρου)  
 [ἐπισκ(έψεως) ἔστ]αι ἢ καὶ ἐν μέρει ἀπεσταὶ ὁ τι δ' ἐν  
 [τόμοις ἐγ]νώσθη ἡγνοημένον ὀφείλ(ον) ὁποτέ-  
 [ρωσ οἰκον]ομηθῆναι. ἔστι δέ·  
 10 [ Σί]γκεφά·  
 [κτῆματος κ]αλουμένου Διοσκούρειου·  
 [Πενήν]υς ὑδροπ(άροχος) ἀ[ρ(ο)]τ(ήρ) μηχα(νάριος) ἀ(πὸ) τοῦ προκ(ειμένου)  
 κτήμα(τος)  
 [ὀφείλ(ει) ὑπὲρ ἐκ]φορίων καὶ φόρων τοῦ ἐνεστ(ῶτος) β (ἔτους)

[.....γ]εωργ(ται) ἐξ ἐπισκ(έψεως)  
 15 [ἀ(πὸ) κοίτ(ης) (ἀρουρῶν) μβ 'Η]ρακλεοδώρου κλή(ρου) ἀφ' ὧ(ν) ἀντικατηλ-  
 (λάγησαν)  
 [Ἀμμωνιαν]ῶ ἀπὸ β(ορῶ) (ἀρ.) κη λοιπ(αῖ) (ἀρ.) ιδ.  
 [κατ' ἀγρὸν] (ἀρ.) ιδβ κολ(λήματος) ξδ πυρ(ῶ) χόρτ(ω)  
 [.....δν] μὲν πρὸς πυρ[δ]ν λογιζομ(ένων)  
 [(ἀρ.) γδ' ἀνὰ (ἀρτ.) εσω ] πυρ[(οῦ)] (ἀρτ.) ιησ  
 20 [τῶν δὲ ἐν χόρτ(ω) (ἀρ.) γλῆμ] φόρο(υ) κατὰ κέλ(ευσιν)  
 [....ὡς ἔστι ἐν τῇ] σινάσει τοῦ προδιε(ληλυθότος)  
 [(ἔτους).....] ἀργ(υρίου) (δρ.) φιβ  
 [ἀλλ(η) κοίτ(η) (ἀρ.).. 'Ισοκράτους κ]λή(ρου) ἐδάφο(υς) Ἄντιωέων  
 [..κολ(λήματος)..πυρ(ῶ) (ἀρ.) δσ ἀνὰ] (ἀρτ.) εσω πυρ(οῦ) (ἀρτ.) κδβ'  
 25 [ 20 ll. ], Ἀλεξάνδρου  
 [ 16 ll. κολ(λήματος)· ] πυρ(ῶ)  
 [(ἀρτ.) 19 ll. ]θ πυρο(ῦ)  
 [(ἀρτ.) 21 ll. ]πυρ(οῦ) (ἀρτ.) ξαβ'  
 [ 27 ll. ].·ν  
 30 [ 27 ll. ].π

## Col. ii.

β

[ἐκ] λιβ(ὸς) χῶμ(ατος) τῆς αὐτ(ῆς) κοίτ(ης) ὁμοί(ως)  
 [κ]ολ(λήματος) ἐξ πυρ(ῶ) ποτισθ(εῖσαι) (ἀρ.) βδ' ἀνὰ (ἀρτ.) σσ πυρο(ῦ) (ἀρτ.)  
 [ιδσῆ  
 ἀλλ(η) κοίτ(η) (ἀρ.) ιβ ἐκ λιβ(ὸς) ποταμοῦ κολ(λήματος) ξη χό(ρτω) (ἀρ.) σ...  
 35 ἀλλ(η) κοίτ(η) (ἀρ.) ε ἐν μισθ(ώσει) τῶν ἀπὸ Χύσεως  
 κολ(λήματος) ξη πυρ(ῶ) (ἀρ.) βσ ἀνὰ (ἀρτ.) εσω πυρ(οῦ) (ἀρτ.) [γελ  
 γίνεται πυρ(οῦ) (ἀρτ.) ρεγδῆ λαχ(άνου) (ἀρτ.) δ  
 ἀργ(υρίου) (δρ.) Γψσβ.  
 ἐξ(ῆς) προσκ( ) δ.....ξ...Π[ο]λυδεύκους β (ἔτους) κολ(λήματος) κη π[υρ(ῶ)]?  
 40 κολ(λήματος) λ[ε] λ[αχ(άνω)] ἀ[ν]ῆ (ἀρτ.) β [ ]  
 Φηοῦς ἕτερος ὑδροπ(άροχος) ἀρ(ο)τ(ήρ) μηχα(νάριος) ἀ(πὸ) τοῦ προκ(ειμένου)  
 κτήμα(τος)]  
 ὀφείλ(ει) ὑπὲρ ἐκφορίων καὶ φόρων τοῦ ἐνε[στ(ῶτος) β (ἔτους)]



21 *συνάρσει*: the letters *σν* were read by Mr. Roberts.

23-7 The items in these lines, so far as they can be recovered, do not seem to be the same as in ll. 51-5, for unless the arithmetic is very erratic, a total of 24½ art. on a rent of 5½ art. per aroura cannot be got from an acreage of 3½ arourae (l. 52). (B.)

23 *ἐδάφο(ς) Ἀντινοῦ*: so too in l. 51. This Antinoite land seems to be new. We may perhaps compare the *Ἀλεξανδρῶν χώρα* in the Oxyrhynchite nome; cf. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, p. 682 n. 5.

25 Perhaps *ποταμὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου* (cf. l. 53), but this *ποταμὸς* is unknown.

34 At the end *φόρ(ου)* might be expected and was very tentatively suggested by Miss Wegener, but it is difficult to read that. The end of the abbreviation resembles that for *λοισαί* in l. 16, but the first letter is not like any other λ, though that reading is not wholly excluded. If *λοισαί* is right we must suppose that what follows was the acreage in wheat and that the rent of the grass land was not given; ll. 20-2 suggest that there were special arrangements for that. (B.)

37 *γίνεσθαι πνρ(οῦ)*: the dotted letters are barely visible owing to rubbing and can be read only *a priori*. (B.)

39-40 The total amount having been specified in the previous line, this must be a supplementary entry under the present rubric. *προσκ( )* may be *πρόσκει(νται)*. It will be noticed that the columns referred to are widely separated from the others under the heading of Penenis. (B.)

40 *λ[αχ(άνω)] δ'νλ*: a diagonal stroke strongly suggests λ, but the rest of the reading is exceedingly doubtful. The stroke might suit *χλό(ρω)*, but grass land pays a money rent in ll. 20-2. For a rent in vegetables cf. l. 37. (B.)

41 *ἔτερος*: probably this goes with the following word, not with *Φηοῦς*; cf. note on l. 12.

43 *τῶν καὶ [δὲ][α] ἐν κτημα(τι)*: this reading, which is Miss Wegener's, is extremely doubtful. It is by no means certain that the circular patch of ink covering *δε* is intended for deletion and is not merely (what its appearance suggests) an accidental blot. At the beginning, for *τῶν* one might read *πν.*, and at the end *δ*, seems better than *μα.*. The characters visible suggest some such reading as *γῆς] ἢ γῆς καὶ δὲ . . . δ(ου) γεγεώρη(ται)*, but as no satisfactory reading of the undeciphered portion has suggested itself (*Ἀσκληπιάδ(ου)* is not possible) and *γῆς* is very doubtful it seems better to leave the text as Miss Wegener read it. (B.)

47 The space after *ων* seems to be intentional.

52 The *ς* before the lacuna is very uncertain palaeographically but quite possible; 5½ is a common rate and occurs in the corresponding entry under Penenis. The holding seems, however, not to be the same as in ll. 23-7; see note ad loc.

53 See l. 25 n. In l. 34 there is a reference to a *ποταμὸς* without a name.

## 2242. ACCOUNT OF RENTS.

26.8 × 25.4 cm.

3rd cent. A.D.

This document is written on the verso of 2240. It contains two columns of a list of rents in wheat on state land; the payments are due for the third year of an unnamed Emperor (l. 2). In each case the total area of the *κοίτη* and most often the *κλήρος* in which it is situated are specified, but in several cases rent is marked as owing only on part of the area, even though, as apparently in l. 19, a lower rent may be indicated for the land not reached by the Nile. It is apparently only the naturally irrigated land for which rents are debited to the tenants. This is clear in the case of the entries in ll. 1-6, 17-22, 28-31, 36-40, and 47-51; and it may be inferred that in cases where the word *Νιλο(οβρόχου)* does not occur all the arourae to which rent was debited had been irrigated naturally. In ll. 7-8, where rent is due on only part of the total area, it is stated that part of the area on which rent was due was 'ceded', the actual rent noted as owing being that on the 1⅓ arourae remaining. The total area was, however, 15

arourae, and we must infer that the greater part of this holding was not reached by the Nile. The account would appear to be intended to specify rent payable on fully irrigated land, excluding all other kinds, and as suggested in the note on ll. 19-22 it may be that rent on the remainder had been remitted, permanently or (much more probably) for the time being. (B.)

### Col. I

Σιλβανὸς καὶ Πραοῦς ὀφείλ(ουσαν) ὑπ(ἐρ)  
ἐκφορίων γ (ἔτους) κοίτ(ης) (ἀρ.) γς' Ἰσιδώρου  
καὶ Διοκλέους κλή(ρου) νιλο(οβρόχου) (ἀρ.) αε' ἀβρόχ(ου)  
ἢ λοιπ(ῆ) φόρου ἀποτάκ(του) ὄλων (ἀρ.) γς'  
5 (πυροῦ ἀρτ.) ιζσα τῆς (ἀρ.) αε' (γίν.) (πυροῦ ἀρτ.) ηε'  
L Παναροῦς τὸ δ' (πυρ. ἀρτ.) βῆτω

Θεόφιλος Βίθου ἀπὸ (ἀρ.) ιε (ἀρ.) βεη, ὦν ἀντι-  
παρχ(ώρησεν) (ἀρ.), λοιπ(ῆ) (ἀρ.) αεῆ ἀνά (ἀρτ.) ε (ἀρτ.) θδῆ

κληρονόμοι Σεκούδου ὀφείλ(ουσι) ὑπ(ἐρ) ἐκφορίων  
10 οὐ γεωργ(οῦσι) (ἀρ.) σα Ἡφαιστῖανος κλή(ρου)  
ἀποτάκ(του) (γίν.) (πυρ. ἀρτ.) βς'  
L Παναροῦς τὸ σα (πυρ. ἀρτ.) αδ'

Σερίριος Ἀρπαήσιος γεωργ(ὸς) Ἰσιδώρας  
Μοχλιτίδος ἐκ τοῦ Ἀματόκου γ(ηδίου?)  
15 κοίτ(ης) ἀπὸ (ἀρ.) δ (ἀρ.) α ἀποτάκ(του) (πυρ. ἀρτ.) ε  
L Παναροῦς τὸ σα (ἀρτ.) βσα

[Ἀλέξ]ανδρος ὀφείλ(ει) ὑπ(ἐρ) ἐκφορίων  
[ κλή](ρου) τοῦ Ἀθραδάτου κοίτ(ης) (ἀρ.) ζγ"  
[ νιλο(οβρόχου) (ἀρ.) εγ" φό(ρου) ἀποτάκ(του) (ἀρ.) β (πυρ. ἀρτ.)  
γβ

20 [ ..] ιλ θσα ὦν αἰ μιλόβροχου) ἐκάστ(η)  
[ ἀ]νά (ἀρτ.) δε' (γίν.) (ἀρτ.) κεγ  
[L Πανα]ροῦς τὸ δ' (ἀρτ.) σδ'

[. . .]ος Σερίνου καὶ Σιλβανὸς Σόυτος  
[ ἐ]κ τοῦ Ἐρμοφίλ[ου] (ἀρ.) γζιω φό(ρου) ἀποτάκ(του)

25 [ ὡς ἐπ'άνω δεδ[ή]λ(ωται) ἀνά (ἀρτ.) δεῖ' (γίν.) (ἀρτ.) ἰζ[.]  
 [ ... ] [..] κοίτ(ης) [(ἀρ.)] (γίν.) (ἀρτ.) [ ]  
 [ ..... ] .ελ[ ]

## Col. II

Πήρις Μαξίμου Μοσίσιος Τ[ι]τηροῦς

ἀπὸ (ἀρ.) δδ' (ἀρ.) βδ' φό(ρου) ἀποτ(άκτου) τῶν ὄ[λω]ν

30 (ἀρτ.) κατῆ ὦν αἰ γι(λόβροχοι) (ἀρ.) ἀ(νά) (ἀρτ.) εἰὼ (ἀρτ.) ια[.]

Λ ἐμετρῆθ(ησαν) (ἀρτ.) ζ' λοιπ(ῆ) (ἀρτ.)

Φιβίων ὀφείλ(ει) ὑπ(έρ) ὧν γεωργεῖ ἐκ τοῦ

Ἰσαξέλιμος (ἀρ.) ε ἀνά (ἀρτ.) δεῖ (ἀρτ.) κγ[.]

καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Βίθνος ἀπὸ (ἀρ.) ιε (ἀρ.) ε ἀποτ(άκτου) (ἀρτ.) κγ[.]

35 Λ Παναροῦς (ἀρτ.) ιζ[.]

Κολλοῦθος ὀφείλ(ει) ὑπ(έρ) ὧν γεωργεῖ ἐκ τοῦ

Ἰσιδάρου καὶ Διοκλέους κοίτ(ης) (ἀρ.) ζ' [(ἀρ.)] 5 γι(λόβροχοι)

(ἀρ.) σ' φό(ρου) ἀποτ(άκτου) τῶν ὄλων (ἀρτ.) ι ὧν [αἰ] γι(λόβροχοι)

[ἀ(νά)] (ἀρτ.) α[.]

(ἀρτ.) ε[.]

40 Λ Παναροῦς τὸ δ' (ἀρτ.) ἡ[.]

Π[α]ροῦς Παθώτου ἐκ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου

(ἀρ.) α ἀποτάκ(του) (ἀρτ.)

[.] α. . ἐκ κλ(ήρου) σκωληκ... (ἀρ.) α. (ἀρτ.) [ ]

45 Π[α]ραροῦς τὸ σ' (ἀρτ.) γελ[.]

Π[α]ροῦς ὠτος Πουήτος ἐκ τοῦ

(ἀρ.) ε[.] φό(ρου) ἀποτ(άκτου) (ἀρτ.) [ ]

[...]τος Νάννου Μηροφίλου [ ]

[.] d' καὶ ἐκ τ(οῦ) Νουμηνίου (ἀρ.) σδ[.]

[.] σ' φό(ρου) ἀποτ(άκτου) (ἀρτ.) κε[.] ὧν αἰ γι(λόβροχοι) ἐκ-  
 [ἀτ(η)]

50 [.] ε[.] γι(λόβροχοι) (ἀρ.) εδ' (γίνονται) (ἀρτ.) ιδ[.]

Λ Παναροῦς τὸ δ' (ἀρ.?) σδ' (ἀρτ.) γ[.]

[...]s Ἀπολλωνίου ἤτοι Παθώτου ὀφείλ(ει)

[ ὑ(πέρ) ἐκφο]ρίου ἐκ τοῦ Νουμηνίου (ἀρ.) [ ]

[ ] (ἀρτ.) β Παναροῦς τὸ σ' (ἀρτ.) α

55 [.....]ω[ ]

2 S'' 3 L. νειλ(οβρόχου); so too elsewhere 9 L. Σεκούδου 30 ε of εἰὼ is a correction

4 ὄλων (ἀρ.) γ': it is clear from l. 6 that the amount due for the whole 3½ arourae is stated here merely to indicate the rate (5 art. per aroura) reckoned for the 1½ aroura flooded land, on which alone the rent has to be paid.

6 L = δν.

Παναροῦς. This form is quoted by Preisigke only once, from W. O. 936, but Παναρώνς is no doubt the same name. In the present document Panarous receives either one-half of the amount due (ll. 12, 16, 33, 34, 54) or one-fourth (ll. 6, 22, 40, 51). These differences make it improbable that the payments are a prerequisite. The most probable explanation is that Panarous was a sitologist and that the amount after his name represents the amount of the rent paid to him. This view is supported by l. 31, where instead of his name we find ὧν ἐμετρῆθ(ησαν) κτλ. Line 6 was just possibly a later addition.

7-8 ἀντιπαρεχ(ώρησεν). The verb ἀντιπαρεχωρεῖν occurs only once, in B.G.U. 1153, 6, 21, with the meaning 'return a mortgaged object after payment of the debt'; cf. Preisigke, *Wb.* s.v.; here, where that sense is inappropriate, the meaning seems to be simply 'cede', perhaps for a consideration. ἔ after παρεχ(ώρησεν) seems to stand for one aroura; there is no trace of a.

9 Σεκούδου: a curious error. Did the writer find in the draft from which he was copying σεκούδου and misplace the ν? (B.)

14 Μοχλιτίδος: this looks like a geographical adjective rather than a personal name. A τόπος Μόχλη (Aphroditos, 8th cent.) occurs in P. Lond. iv. 1419, 43. (B.)

ἐκ τοῦ Ἀματόκου γ(ηδίου?): a κλήρος Ἀματόκου is known from P. Flor. i. 50 in the Hermopolite nome; here it will be an allotment of the same name in the Oxyrhynchite nome. [After this Miss Wegener read s'' with a note that 'the meaning of the s (which might also be a γ) . . . is obscure'. The letter is more like γ than s, and γ(ηδίου), though the word does not seem to occur in papyri before the 4th century, seems a likely reading. (B.)]

18 The trace before τοῦ does not suit the reading ε[.]κ.

19-22 This passage is to be compared with those in ll. 29-30, 36-9, and 47-50. Only by such comparison is it possible to arrive at a satisfactory explanation. The difficulty lies in the clause following ὧν (ll. 20, 30, 38, 49). Miss Wegener's readings in these lines were respectively ἀρουρα ἐκάστ(η), αει, [.] α, and ἀρουρα ἐκάστ(η), though she recognized the similarity of the entries. Neither in l. 20 nor in l. 49 can ἀρουρα be read without straining the evidence of the characters, and it leaves ll. 30 and 38, where no such reading is at all possible, unexplained. In l. 30 α is an obvious reading (need be doubted only because the stroke is not quite straight). In l. 20, and little less so in l. 49, α suits the characters far better than anything else and can be rejected only on very strong countervailing evidence. What follows is, however, very puzzling. In l. 20 it looks like β' (the beta of the cursive form) or ζ'; in l. 30 the obvious reading is ε; in l. 38, where there is a lacuna, all that is visible looks like α, with the end of a horizontal (?) stroke preceding it; and in l. 49 what can be seen bears little resemblance to any letter, except perhaps a badly made d, the sign for ½. In every case, however, except in ll. 47-50, which are at present unexplained (see note *ad loc.*), if we take what follows α as an abbreviation or symbol of ν(λόβροχοι) we get a reading which suits the arithmetic and the whole context. In all other cases where the word occurs, it is true, the letters written are formed normally and clearly enough, but it is possible that a recurrent phrase like ὧν αἰ ν(λόβροχοι) might be written with a negligence or a conventionality not indulged in when ν(λόβροχου) occurs alone.

Accepting this provisionally as the solution, we can explain the present entry as follows: The holding contained 7½ arourae, of which 5½ were naturally irrigated. This left 2 arourae for which artificial irrigation was necessary. On these the rent was at the rate of 3½ artabae per aroura; the

characters  $\Sigma$  (perhaps a later insertion)  $\gamma\beta$ , though not read by Miss Wegener, seem certain. For some reason, not discoverable owing to the lacuna at the beginning of l. 20, the rent on these arourae seems actually to be reckoned at the rate of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  artabae, for  $9\frac{1}{2}$ , which occurs in l. 20, gives the correct total at that rate. This rent is, however, ignored in the final result: the naturally irrigated  $5\frac{1}{2}$  arourae, at the rate of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  artabae, give a total rent of  $25\frac{1}{2}$  artabae, correctly entered in l. 21. A quarter of this amount was to be delivered to Panarous (l. 22, where  $\sigma\delta'$  should be  $\sigma\gamma'$ ). The beginning of l. 20 remains obscure. There may have been a statement that the rent was equated with that on the  $\mu\lambda\delta\beta\rho\rho\chi\omicron\iota$  arourae, but  $\lambda$  is written on the line, not above  $\iota$  as elsewhere, nor is  $\iota$  certain; it might be  $\rho$ . There is, moreover, no artaba sign before  $\theta\sigma\omega$ .

In ll. 28-30 the total holding was  $4\frac{1}{2}$  arourae, of which  $2\frac{1}{2}$  were naturally irrigated (the word  $\nu\lambda$  is omitted). The rent on the whole was  $21\frac{1}{2}$  (the fractions should be  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$ ) at the rate of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  artabae per aroura, but only the rent on the  $\mu\lambda\delta\beta\rho\rho\chi\omicron\iota$  is reckoned, amounting to  $11\frac{1}{2}$  (correctly  $11\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$ ). For the payment to Panarous see note on l. 31.

In ll. 36-40 the total holding was 7 arourae; 6 of these were farmed by Colluthus but only  $\frac{1}{2}$  aroura was naturally irrigated. The rate was  $1\frac{1}{2}$  artabae per aroura. If  $\tau\omega\nu$   $\delta\lambda\omega\nu$  in l. 38 refers to the whole 7 arourae the total rent is  $10\frac{1}{2}$  artabae, if (as is more probable) to the 6 farmed by Colluthus it is 9 artabae. The figure  $\iota$  is therefore an error. Only the rent on the naturally irrigated  $\frac{1}{2}$  aroura is reckoned; this is correctly stated as  $\frac{3}{2}$  artaba. For 47-50 see the note *ad loc.*

It appears then that in every case to take the clause beginning  $\delta\nu$  as a specification of the rent payable on the naturally irrigated land, which alone is owing, gives an excellent sense and suits the evidence of the account as a whole, which appears to be a statement of rent owing on land irrigated by the Nile. Perhaps, owing to special circumstances, the rent on the artificially irrigated (or, in some cases, quite unirrigated?) land was being remitted, or the tenants had been granted a postponement of payment. (B.)

24  $\epsilon\kappa$  τοῦ Ἐρμιοφίλου: sc. κλήρου.

25 The trace of ink after  $\tau\epsilon$  can hardly be a fraction, because 17 artabae are approximately the amount due for  $3\frac{1}{2}$  arourae at a rate of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  artabae.

28 *Μοσιόσιος*  $\tau\epsilon\tau\tau\eta\rho\delta\varsigma$ : it is not clear whether this is a second tenant, *καί* being understood or accidentally omitted, or whether these are the names of Pesis' grandfather and great-grandfather. *Μοσιόσιος* looks like a genitive, but it is very unusual to give four generations. Miss Wegener read *Μοσιόσιος κλήρου*, but this seems impossible. (B.)

31 ( $\delta\rho\tau.$ )  $\zeta$ : if the ( $\delta\rho\tau.$ ) at the end means 1 artaba, as perhaps in l. 42, this figure should be  $\iota\sigma\omega$ , and this was read by Miss Wegener, though with some misgiving. She may have been right, but the reading implies a quite remarkable malformation of the characters, for the obvious reading is a large Z, and it is perhaps better to assume that the clerk omitted the figures after ( $\delta\rho\tau.$ ). (B.)

35 As in l. 31 it is not stated what fraction  $17\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$  artabae represent of the total amount due. The marginal note before ll. 33 and 34 is perhaps a more accurate statement of the amount.

37 ( $\delta\rho\tau.$ )  $\zeta$  [( $\delta\rho\tau.$ )]  $\varsigma$ : there is no other instance of a triple specification, (a) total *κοττη*, (b) portion farmed by the tenant, (c) portion *νιλόβροχος*, but there was clearly a good deal of variety in the treatment of the entries. (B.)

38  $\tau\omega\nu$   $\delta\lambda\omega\nu$  ( $\delta\rho\tau.$ )  $\iota$ : cf. ll. 19-22 n.

42 There is no trace of ink after the artaba sign, which may therefore stand for 1 artaba, but this is a very small rent, and it may be that the figure was accidentally omitted or was widely separated from the symbol and is lost in the lacuna. Cf. l. 31 n.

$\delta\kappa$   $\epsilon\lambda(\eta\rho\omega\upsilon)$ : read with all reserve, but the reading is palaeographically easy enough. Elsewhere we get either (a) a name followed by *κλήρου* or (b)  $\epsilon\kappa$  τοῦ followed by a name. *σκαληκ...* might perhaps be read *Σκαληκωφης*, but such a name is hardly credible. (B.)

45 [I]επερρῶτος might be read at the beginning. (B.)

47-50 These lines are very puzzling.  $\text{jd}'$  in l. 48 is presumably part of the specification of the first holding, to which the  $\sigma\delta'$  at the end of the line has to be added. Probably the total came at the beginning of l. 49. The rent that follows should be the total rent on the complete holding; the rate on the Nile-irrigated portion should come at the beginning of l. 50, where  $\text{J}(\delta\rho\tau.) \epsilon\iota$  could be read. But a total rent of  $25\frac{1}{2}$  artabae at a rate of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  artabae per aroura indicates an area of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  (say  $4\frac{1}{2}$ ) arourae, which is obviously too small to be the total. Moreover, if  $5\frac{1}{2}$  is the rate, the total rent on  $5\frac{1}{2}$  arourae

(l. 50) should be  $28\frac{1}{2}$  artabae, not 14. The mystery does not end there. A quarter of 14 is, as stated in l. 51,  $3\frac{1}{2}$ , but why is the entry of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  arourae repeated before it?  $3\frac{1}{2}$  is not a quarter of the rent on  $6\frac{1}{2}$  arourae at  $5\frac{1}{2}$  artabae per aroura. Moreover the symbol before  $\sigma\delta'$  looks rather more like that for *πυρο ἀρτάβα* than that for *ἀρουρα*, though the latter is not impossible. (B.)

## 2243 (a). RECEIPTS FROM AND EXPENDITURE ON ESTATES.

34×172·7 cm.

A.D. 590.

This account is closely similar to 1911, 1912, and 2195. That it relates, like them, to estates of the Apion family might be inferred from the occurrence of place-names familiar in the papers of that family (though several of the names found in it are new or not previously known in connexion with the Apions); but this inference is rendered certain by the mention on the verso of Flavia Praejecta and Flavius Apion (III). These names make it possible to identify the ninth indiction mentioned in the account as that of A.D. 590-1, and consequently to date the document in the autumn of 590.

The account is arranged on lines closely parallel to those of the others cited above. 1911 relates to the year A.D. 557, 2195 may be of 576. It is a remarkable proof of the strength of tradition in the management of private estates that the pattern of these accounts should for so long have remained without any essential change, particularly when we remember that in each case different portions of the estate are concerned, at least in the main.

The present account begins abruptly, without a general heading, but no part of it was lost at the beginning, for the lower portion of a protocol of Byzantine type precedes the first column. This is as usual illegible; the conclusion can without much difficulty (but with no certainty) be read as  $\phi$   $\omega\delta\iota\kappa/\beta$ , but whether  $\phi$  is part of  $\Phi\alpha\omega\phi\iota$ , of  $\text{Ἐπειφ}$ , or of some other month name is more conjectural. It may be, since no heading precedes col. I, that ll. 86-8 on the verso are intended as the heading to the whole account (see note *ad loc.*), but it is possible that this is the second of two rolls. It appears to be complete at the end, unless indeed it was continued on a further roll. The papyrus is broken at the bottom, but probably no complete line is lost from any column, certainly not from cols. III-V. On the verso, besides ll. 86-95, another hand has written 2243 (b).

## Col. I

- 1 [π(αρά) Ἰωάννου υἱοῦ Ταλίου καὶ [κοι]ρ(ωνῶν) {καὶ} παμ[αρ(ιτῶν) ἀπό...]  
[[ρο(μ.)λ]] νο(μ.) λ
- 2 [π(α.)] Στεφάνου καὶ κληρ(ονόμων) Π[ε]τρωνίου βοθη(οῦ) ἀπό τῆς ἀ[ν]τή[ς] πόλεως  
σίτου (ἀρτάβα) λδςδ' χο(ίνικες) ε νο(μ.) γςδ'
- 3 φόρο(ς) λαχανιάς Παλέκτορος νο(μ.) δ
- 4 ἐν κώμη(η) Σενοκώμεως οὔ(τως)\*
- 5 π(α.) Ἐλάτος φρο(ντιστοῦ) ἀπό τῆς αὐτῆς [κ]ώμη(ης) Σενοκώμεως νο(μ.) ημκη'

- 6 π(α.) Παμουθίου Πανεχοούτ[ο]σ] και Φοιβάμμωνος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμ(ης)  
νο(μ.) κωκη'
- 7 π(α.) Ἀμμωνίου ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς [κ]ώμ(ης) δ(ιὰ) Ἰωάννου Μέλανος νο(μ.) η
- 8 π(α.) Παμουθίου και Βίκτορος [καί] Ἰωάννου και Ἀβρααμ[έ]ο]ν ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ  
νο(μ.) κα
- 9 π(α.) Ἐρᾶ Ἀνουθίου ἀπὸ τῆς α[ὐ]τῆς κώμ(ης) νο(μ.) κγς
- 10 π(α.) Ἰωάννου Μέλανος ἀπὸ τῆς α[ὐ]τῆς κώμ(ης) νο(μ.) ιη
- 11 και ἀπὸ ἀγορασί(ας) Ἡρακλ[έ]ο]ν κώμ(ης)·
- 12 π(α.) Ἀπολλῶ Βιταλίου ἀπὸ τῆς α[ὐ]τῆς κώμ(ης) νο(μ.) ηδ'
- 13 π(α.) Ὀνοφρίου ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμ(ης) νο(μ.) ηγ' κδ'
- 14 π(α.) Ἀγροθίου Φιλέου δ(ιὰ) Ἀβρααμ[έ]ο]ν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμ(ης) νο(μ.) θ
- 15 π(α.) Ἰωάννου πρε(σβυτέρου) και κοιν(ωνῶν) δ(ιὰ) Π[.....] πρ(ονοητοῦ)  
Ἀματῆνης [νο(μ.)]α
- 16 π(α.) Ἀπολλῶ Ὀνοφρίου ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμ(ης) [νο(μ.)] ηδ'
- 17 π(α.) Ἰσὰκ Παπνουθίου ἑτέρου [ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμ(ης) [νο(μ.)]..]
- 18 π(α.) Ἰωάννου καταμ( ) ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμ(ης) [νο(μ.)..]
- 19 π(α.) Φοιβάμμωνος τέκτ(ονος) δ(ιὰ) [.....] ου [νο(μ.)..]
- 20 ἑποικ(ίου) Πιστᾶ [..... ἀπὸ ἀγ]ορασί(ας) τῶν υἱῶν Τουάνου·
- 21 π(α.) Σαρμάτου και κοιν(ωνῶν) δ(ιὰ) ..... ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κτήμα(τος) Πιστᾶ  
σίτου κ(αγ.) [(ἀρτ.) ]
- 22 π(α.) Ἰωάννου πρε(σβυτέρου) δ(ιὰ) [..... ἀπὸ τοῦ] αὐτ(οῦ) [ ]
- 4 κωμῆ, and so regularly throughout. 8 First stroke of κ in κα remade, or κ corrected to ι

## Col. II

- 23 [π(α.)..].τος πρε(σβυτέρου) και κοιν(ωνῶν) ἀπὸ Ἡρακλᾶ [ ] σίτου κ(αγ.)  
(ἀρτ.) ρξ'ηθ' χ(οίν.)ζ (καί?) εἰ[κ(τὸς) ῥ(οπής) [ ]
- 24 π(α.) [.].[.].[.]. και Π(α.) Παμουθίου δ(ιὰ) Ἀταύρω[.....] ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) σίτου  
(ἀρτ.) μς χο(ίν.) η (καί?) εἰ[κ(τὸς) ῥ(οπής)] νο(μ.) βγ'μ[ῆ]ζ'ς'
- 25 π(α.) τ[ῶ]ν αὐτῶν και προκειμ(ένων) γεωρ(γῶν) [ἀ]π[ὸ] τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) κτήμα(τος)  
ἐκ(τὸς) ῥ(οπής) νο(μ.) γ' κδ' μῆ ζς'
- 26 π(α.) τ[ῶ]ν αὐτῶν και προκειμ(ένων) γεωρ(γῶν) (ὑπὲρ) τι[μ(ῆς)] στυπ(ίου) και  
συντελ(είας) κεφαλ(ῆς) [ἐκ(τὸς) ῥ(οπής)] νό(μ.) α
- 27 π(α.) τ[ῶ]ν αὐτῶν και προκειμ(ένων) γεωρ(γῶν) (ὑπὲρ) φόρ(ου) μυλαίου και  
φό(ρου) φοινί(ων) ἐκ(τὸς) ῥ(οπής) νό(μ.) αδ'

- 28 π(α.) τῶν αὐτῶν και προκειμ(ένων) γεωρ(γῶν) (ὑπὲρ) τιμ(ῆς) δελφια(ος)  
ἐκ(τὸς) ῥ(οπής) νο(μ.) σῆμη
- 29 π(α.) τῶν αὐτῶν και προκειμ(ένων) γεωρ(γῶν) (ὑπὲρ) ἀποτάκ(ου) χωρ(ίου)  
ἐκ(τὸς) ῥ(οπής) νο(μ.) ζς
- 30 ἐν τῇ Νοτμῇ Παρορίου·
- 31 π(α.) Ἰ[σ]ὰκ και Θεοφίλου και κοιν(ωνῶν) ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Λιθίνης ἐκ(τὸς)  
ῥ(οπής) νο(μ.) ες' κδ'
- 32 π(α.) Ἰωάννου και κοιν(ωνῶν) ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Σοφροσύνης ἐκ(τὸς) ῥ(οπής)  
νο(μ.) βςῆ
- 33 π(α.) Ἀπολλῶ και κοιν(ωνῶν) ἀπὸ Πεκτῆ ἐκ(τὸς) ῥ(οπής) νο(μ.) γγ' κδ' ζς'
- 34 π(α.) Ἀ[σ]κλᾶ ἀπὸ Παγγύλεως ἐκ(τὸς) ῥ(οπής) νο(μ.) βιο'
- 35 ἐν κώμ(ῃ) Ταμπέμου·
- 36 π(α.) Ἀπολλ[ῶ] ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμ(ης) σίτου κ(αγ.) (ἀρτ.) ο
- 37 π(α.) κληρ(ονόμων) Βίκτορος ἀπὸ οἰνοχειρ[ιστ(ῶν)] δ(ιὰ) Ἀπολλῶ υ[ἱ]ο[σ]ῆ  
σίτου κ(αγ.) (ἀρτ.) ςδ χο(ίν.) [.]. νο(μ.) ες' γ' μῆ
- 38 π(α.) κληρ(ονόμων) Γεροντίου δ(ιὰ) Ἰωσήφ [ζυγ]οστάτου σίτου κ(αγ.)  
(ἀρτ.) λς
- 39 π(α.) Σίλων[ος] Ἡλίου μειζ(οτέρου) και Ἰωάννου [.]. ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμ(ης)  
σίτου κ(αγ.) (ἀρτ.) ις νό(μ.) ακδ'
- 40 π(α.) Ἰωάννου και Παπνουθίου [ἀπὸ .....] εναῖψε σίτου κ(αγ.) (ἀρτ.) ρκ  
νο(μ.) εγγ'
- 41 π(α.) Μου[σ]αίου Ἰσὰκ και κληρ(ονόμων) .... ἀπὸ Πτόχεως σίτου κ(αγ.)  
(ἀρτ.) ζ νο(μ.)ς
- 42 π(α.) τοῦ κοιν(οῦ) τῶν κωμαρ[χῶν] κώμ(ης) .]μειως νό(μ.) γ'
- 43 π(α.) κληρ(ονόμων) Γεροντίου δ(ιὰ) Ἰωσήφ ζυγ(οστάτου) νο(μ.) κδ
- 44 π(α.) ἄπα Ὄρ Ἰωσήφ δ(ιὰ) .... ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κ[ώμ(ης)] σίτου κ(αγ.)  
[(ἀρτ.) ] blank
- 45 [π(α.) τ[ῶ]ν αὐτῶν κληρ(ονόμων) Γεροντίου δ(ιὰ) τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) ζυγ(οστάτου)  
[σ]ῆ[του] κ(αγ.) (ἀρτ.) .] blank
- 32 l. Σωφροσύνης 33 l. Πεκτῆ

## Col. III

- 46 π(α.) τ[ῶ]ν αὐτ[ῶ]ν κληρ(ονόμων) [Βε]κτορος (ὑπὲρ) τῆς μεγάλ(ης) οὐσί(ας)  
νό(μ.) ε'
- 47 π(α.) τοῦ κοιν(οῦ) τ[ῶ]ν [γεω]ρ(γῶν) ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς (ὑπὲρ) φόρ(ου) τῶν [γ]ηδ(ίων)  
κ

- 48 φ[υτευ]θ(έντων) ἐν ἀμπέλ(ω) ἐν μηχ(ανῆ) Τεπότ σὺν ῥο(πη) νο(μ.) κδ  
π(α.) ρη
- 49 π(α.) τρῶ κ[ου(οῦ)] τῶν γεωργ(ῶν) ἐποικ(ίου) Σατύρου σίτου κ(αγ.) (ἀρτ.) σδ
- 50 π(α.) [Α]ροῦπ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐποικ(ίου) Σατύρου σίτου κ(αγ.) (ἀρτ.) ρμ
- 51 π(α.) τῶν γεωργ(ῶν) (ὑπέρ) μηχ(ανῆς) Τῶν Σκυτέων σίτου κ(αγ.) (ἀρτ.) οβ
- 52 π(α.) τῶν ἀπὸ κτήμ(ατος) Παλίδου (ὑπέρ) μηχ(ανῆς) Ἴσιδος σίτου κ(αγ.)  
(ἀρτ.) ρλεδ' νο(μ.) κβδ'
- 53 π(α.) τοῦ πωμαρ(ίτου) του αὐ(τοῦ) κτήμ(ατος) Παλίδου (ὑπέρ) φόρ(ου) πωμαρ(ίου)  
νο(μ.) ζ ἀφ' (ὧν) (ὑπέρ) ἐνχόρτου τοῦ πωμαρίου (ἀρ.) (ε)γ χόρτου
- 54 (ἀρ.) θ. συντελ(είας) (ὑπέρ) ἐκάστου (ἀρ.) νο(μ.) σκδ' μῆγ' γί(νεται)  
νο(μ.) εἰῆμῆγ'ς'
- 56 λου(πὸν) νο(μ.) αςγ'ς', ἐξ ὧν (ὑπέρ) μισθ(οῦ) τοῦ πωμαρίου σ(ίτου)  
(καγ.) (ἀρτ.) ζς' τῶν
- 57 (ἀρτ.) γς' νο(μ.) α, Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μ.) σκδ'ς', τὰ ἐ(διωτικ)ῶ νο(μ.)  
ςιο'ς', λου(πὸν)
- 58 (ὑπέρ) φόρ(ου) πωμαρίου νο(μ.) αδ' γί(νεται) νο(μ.) αδ'

55 l. ἐκάστης 57 κδ' perhaps a correction

## Col. IV

- 59 + γί(νονται) λημμ(άτων) τῆς αὐτῆς ἐν[έτη]ς ἐνδ(ικ.) σίτου μέτ(ρω) (ἀρτ.)  
βοβδ' χ(οίν.) η και
- 60 κ(αγ.) (ἀρτ.) τας χ(οίν.) δ και σὺν ῥ(οπη) νο(μ.) νοβμῆγ'ς' π(α.) κερ(άτ.) ρη και  
ἐκ(τὸς) ῥ(οπη) νο(μ.) λεκδ'ς' και
- 61 ἀργ(υρίου) (δηναρίων) (μυριάδες) ,ας, ἐξ ὧν κομφ(ίζονται) <(ὑπέρ)> Νήσου  
Λαχανιάς τὰς και ἐνεχθ(είσας) εἰς τὸν
- 62 λόγ(ον) Βίκορος προ(νοητοῦ) Φάκρα σίτου μέτ(ρω) (ἀρτ.) λδςδ' και νο(μ.)  
ςδ' σὺν τῷ γηδ[ί]φ
- 63 Καρ(υ)οφυλ(άκων) και (ὑπέρ) τῶν κήπων Νήσου Λαχανιάς νο(μ.) λ και (ὑπέρ)  
64 τοῦ κηπίου Παλέκτορος νο(μ.) δ, γί(νονται) τοῦ κομφισμ(οῦ) σίτου κ(αγ.) (ἀρτ.)  
λδςδ' χ(οίν.) ε και
- 65 σὺν ῥ(οπη) νο(μ.) μςδ' λου(πὰ) λημμ(άτων) θ ἰνδ(ικ.) σίτου μέτ(ρω) (ἀρτ.) ,βλη,  
αἶ κ(αγ.) (ἀρτ.) ,βτμγς χ(οίν.) η και
- 66 ἀλλ(αι) κ(αγ.) (ἀρτ.) τας χ(οίν.) δ, γί(νονται) σίτου κ(αγ.) (ἀρτ.) ,γομεδ'  
χ(οίν.) β και σὺν ῥ(οπη) νο(μ.) υλβκδ' μῆγ'ς' π(α.) κερ(άτ.) ρη

- 67 εἰς νο(μ.) δς, καθ(αρά) νο(μ.) υκςςκδ' μῆγ'ς' και ἐκ(τὸς) ῥο(πη)ς νο(μ.) λε  
κδ'ς' και ἀργυρ(ίου) (δηναρίων) (μυριάδες) ,ας
- 68 +φέρεται δ(ιὰ) τοῦ προ(νοητοῦ) Παγγουλείου (ὑπέρ) τῶν μηχ(ανῶν) κώμ(ης)  
Ταμπέμου σίτου κ(αγ.) (ἀρτ.) ωγ χ(οίν.) θ και
- 69 σὺν ῥ(οπη) νο(μ.) οςς'κδ' μῆ π(α.) κερ(άτ.) ρη εἰς νο(μ.) δς, καθ(αρά) νο(μ.)  
οαυκδ' μῆ ὡς λου(πὰ) λημμ(άτων)
- 70 θ ἰνδ(ικ.) σίτου κ(αγ.) (ἀρτ.) ,βυλβ χ(οίν.) γ και σὺν ῥ(οπη) νο(μ.) τνεμῆμῆ  
ςς' και ἐκ(τὸς) ῥο(πη)ς νο(μ.) λεκδ'ς'
- 71 και ἀργυρ(ίου) (δηναρίων) (μυριάδες) ,ας κ[αί] (ὑπέρ) τοῦ ἄλλ(ου) (ἡμίσεος)  
μέρ(ους) τῆς μηχ(ανῆς) Ἴσιδος σίτου κ(αγ.) (ἀρτ.) οςςδ' (και) νο(μ.) ιβ
- 72 γί(νεται) δ(μοῦ) σίτου κ(αγ.) (ἀρτ.) ,βφθ[ςδ'] χ(οίν.) ζ και σὺν ῥ(οπη) νο(μ.)  
τξξμῆμῆγ'ς' και ἐκ(τὸς) ῥ(οπη)ς νο(μ.) λεκδ'ς'
- 73 και ἀργυρ(ίου) (δηναρίων) (μυριάδες) ,ας.

63 l. κήπων

## Col. V

- 74 + ἐξ ὧν ἀνγλωθ(ησαν) ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς θ ἰνδ(ικ.)\*
- 75 εἰς τὰς ἀγί(ας) ἐκκλησί(ας) τῶν ἐξῆς κτημ(άτων) κατὰ τὸ ἔθος σίτου κ(αγ.) (ἀρτ.)  
κηςδ' χ(οίν.) ς νο(μ.) γςγ'ιο' π(α.) κερ(άτ.) [
- 76 ἐκκλησί(αν) Τριγύου (ἀρτ.) ς νο(μ.) α π(α.) α, ἐκκλησί(αν) Νο[τ]μοῦ (ἀρτ.) δ  
νο(μ.) ςδ' π(α.) ςδ'
- 77 ἐκκλησί(αν) Πολέμωνος (ἀρτ.) ς νο(μ.) α π(α.) α, εἰς τὸν Ἀρχάγ[γ]ελον Μιχαῆλ  
(ἀρτ.) β νο(μ.) δ' π(α.) δ'
- 78 ἐκκλησί(αν) Πεστᾶ νο(μ.) δ' π(α.) δ', ἐκκλησί(αν) Ἑρακλᾶ (ἀρτ.) δ τὰ  
προκ(είμενα)
- 79 τοῖς πλινθ(ευταῖς) πλινθ(εύουσι) ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς κτήμ(ασι) (ὑπέρ) μισθ(οῦ) δπτ(ῆς)  
πλινθ(ου) (μυριάδων) η σὺν μισθ(ῶ) οἰκοδόμ(ων) σί(του) κ(αγ.) (ἀρτ.) β  
νο(μ.) β π(α.) κερ(άτ.) [
- 80 Πολέμωνος (μυριάδ.) β, Τριγύου (μυριάδ.) β, Νοτινοῦ (μυριάδ.) β, Ἑρακλᾶ  
(μυριάδ.) β τὰ προκ(είμενα)
- 81 τῷ προ(νοητῆ) λόγ(ω) ὀφώνιου κατὰ τὸ ἔθος σίτου κ(αγ.) (ἀρτ.) κδ
- 82 τοῖς ἀπὸ Τριγύου (ὑπέρ) δημ(οσίω) τῆς ἀντικαταλλαγῆς τῶ[ν] ἀπὸ διαφ(όρων)  
κατὰ τὸ ἔθος σί(του) κ(αγ.) (ἀρτ.) ιβδ' νο(μ.) ςδ' π(α.) [
- 83 τῷ ἐργοδιώκ(η) ἐποικ(ίου) Τριγύου (ὑπέρ) μισθ(οῦ) νο(μ.) β π(α.) ζ και τῷ  
ἐργοδιώκ(η) Νοτινοῦ νο(μ.) α π(α.) γς γί(νεται) νο(μ.) γ π(α.) ις

- 84 *συνεχωρήθ(η) Σαρμάτου θρνοκοπ(έως) από Νοτιου έκ κ[ελε]ύσ(εως) του μεγάλ(ου)  
κυρ(ίου) [ν]ρ(μ.) α [*  
85 *συνεχωρήθ(η) τοῖς ἀπό Τριγυ[ου] [νο(μ.)*  
84 l. Σαρμάτη θρνοκοπ(εί)

## On the Verso of Col. I and II.

- 86 (2nd hand) + Φλ(αουίσις) Πραιέκτη τῆ ὑπερφουστ(άτη) ὑπατίσση καὶ Ἀπίων  
{καὶ} τῷ πανευφ(ήμω) ὑπάτω γε[ουχοῦσι]  
87 καὶ ἐνταῦθ(α) τῆ λαμπρ(ᾶ) Ὀξυρυγχ(ιτων) πόλει. λόγ(ος) λημ(άτων) καὶ  
ἀναλωμ(άτων) γε[νομένων δι' ἐμοῦ]  
88 Φιλοξένου προ(νοσητοῦ) Φατεμήντ καὶ ἀλλ(ων) ἐξωτικ(ῶν) τόπων εἰ[π] [τ]ῆ[ς]  
εἰνάτης ἰδ(υκτ.). ]  
89 ἸἸἸἸἸ(η) δι(ὰ) τοῦ εἰδοκ(ίμου) Φοιβάμμωνος τραπεζ(ίτου) τῷ [χ]ρ[υσώνη]  
90 (ὑπέρ) κανονικ(ῶν) θ ἰδ(υκτ.) χρυσοῦ Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) νομίματ(α) ἑκατόν,  
γί(νεται) χρ(υσ.) Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μ.) ρ μ(όνα).  
91 +σξζ (καὶ) σλς Ἀθῦρ ἰδ(υκτ.) ἐν[ν]άτης.  
92 ἸἸἸἸἸ(η) δι(ὰ) τοῦ εἰδοκ(ίμου) Φοιβάμμωνος τραπεζ(ίτου) τοῖς ις συμμάχ(οις)  
ἀπερχομ(ένοις)  
93 ἐν Ἀλεξανδρ(εία) μετὰ τοῦ λαμπρ(οτάτου) Ἰερημίου χαρτ(ουλαρίου) τῆς Κυνῶν  
λόγ(ω) ἀναλωμ[ι(άτων)]  
94 (ὑπέρ) ἡμερ(ῶν) λ χρυσοῦ Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) νομίματ(α) τέσσαρα γί(νεται) χρ(υσ.)  
Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μ.) δ μ(όνα).  
95 +σξη (καὶ) σλς Ἀθῦρ ἰδ(υκτ.) δεκάτης.

91 ζ of σξζ corrected from η

1 It seems improbable that *καὶ* was correctly written here: the *πωμαρίται* were presumably John and his partners.

4 The doubling of the final consonant in an abbreviation was a device to indicate the plural, whether of a noun or of a verb. Its use in this account for *κώμη*, like the meaningless overwritten ε (one can hardly believe that the clerk would have written *κωμει*), is an instance of the unintelligent thoughtlessness so common in writers of the Byzantine age (and earlier) in Egypt.

5  $\text{III} = \frac{3}{4}$ .

11 Taken alone the entries in ll. 12-19 might be payments made by individuals in the village of Herakleion for a joint purchase, or rather perhaps in connexion with a general sale made by the estate to its tenants (*ἀγορασι(ῶν)* is a less likely extension). Line 20, however, makes it probable that in both cases it is a question of property purchased by the estate; the tenants of the former owners now make their payments to the Apion family.

15 Ἀματήνης: this name appears to be new to Oxyrhynchite topography; but cf. the *ἔδαφος Ἀμάτου* of 1911 146, 205. Presumably an estate.

18 *καταμ( )*: cf. 2244 39, where the papyrus has *καταμειν*. It is natural to connect the two words. Here *καταμεινοντος* suggests itself; the meaning would presumably be that the person so described was a resident only, not a native, though the following *ἀπὸ*, if *τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης* is rightly restored, makes against this, since *ἀπὸ* normally denotes the *origo*. For *καταμειν* in this sense see Preisigke, *WB*, s.v., especially P. Cairo Masp. ii. 67155, 3-5, *θρμώμενος μὲν ἀπὸ κώμης Ἰσιδώρου . . . καταμεινον δὲ πρὸ πολλοῦ ἐνταῦθα κτλ.* The context in 2244 39, however, does not suit this, for there it would be necessary to read *καταμειν(αντι)*, and moreover the word takes a genitive. A client or serf of the *βουθός* is suggested. It is perhaps worth while to compare the medieval Latin uses of *mansuonari*, *manentes*, for which see Du Cange, s.vv. Reference may also be made to 1890 2, *Ἀφρούς ὁ καὶ Καταμίνος* and 1889 8, where, according to Miss Wegener, *καταμίνη* could be read, if it gave any sense. See, however, 2238 11 above, *παρამέοντα αὐτῆ ἐν τῶν εἰ δουλελευθέρου*, where *παρამέινω* has precisely the sense which seems to suit *καταμ( )* here and in 2244.

20 See l. 11 n. At the end no π is written after *ανου*, which therefore cannot be Ἄνοση. A name Ἄνοσης is well attested, but it seems better to take *Τουάνου* as the name; cf. *Τουάν, Τουάνις*, Preisigke, *Namenbuch*. *Πεσᾶ* is again a name new to the Oxyrhynchite nome, but it is known in the Arsinoite nome (*Stud.* x. 193, 8; xx. 238r, 14).

23 (*κατ*): both here and in the next line this character, a curved stroke like S, which stands slightly to the left of the general alignment at this point, is quite unlike the abbreviated *ἐκ(τός)* β(ουθός) of succeeding lines. Probably in these two lines, where for the first time corn payments appear, the clerk introduced the money payment with a (*κατ*). In both cases the following character can easily be read as ε.

26  $\text{v}\beta(\mu.)\alpha$ : the α is read rather as the least unlikely figure within the probable range of payments than as very convincing in itself.

27 *φουκ(ικῶν)*: or *φουκ(ἄνω)*, but the rent is not large.

31 *Λιθίνης*: again apparently a new name.

35 *Ταμπέμου*: this spelling is not recorded in Preisigke, *WB*, iii. Abschn. 16a, but it occurs in P.S.I. viii. 945, 22 and 1491 13; so too 2244 86, 87. The commoner spelling is *Ταμπέμου*.

37 *ἀπὸ οἰνοχειρίστ(ῶν)*: presumably a (former?) member of a trade guild. It is unlikely that the word has a topographical significance.

41 *Πτῶχως*: again new, unless it is a variant of *Πτῶχος* (913 6, *SB*, 1972).

44 [δ(ά)] the / of δ/ is visible.

47 [γ]ῆθ(ῶν): Miss Wegener had tentatively suggested (*ἀρουρῶν*) η/ , but to take the visible character as the symbol for *ἀρουρα* involves the supposition that the word was here represented by an entirely different symbol from that used in ll. 54, 55, which has the form usual in the Roman period. The reading here adopted, with the help of Mr. Roberts, seems quite possible.

48 *Τεπότ*: cf. 2195 170.

52 *Παλίδου*: the same name (though of course a different place) is possibly to be recognized in *Stud.* x. 285, 4 *Παλ* / (*Fayūm*).

\**Τοῖδος*: it is strange to find this name surviving in the late sixth century.

53-8 'From the fruit-grower of the same estate of Palidus for rent of an orchard, 7 solidi, whereof, for the portion of the orchard under grass, (total) 13 arourae, under grass 9 arourae, tax on each aroura (under grass)  $\frac{3}{8}$  s., total  $5\frac{3}{8}$  s., remainder  $1\frac{3}{8}$  s., from which, for hire of the orchard (ῆ),  $\frac{7}{8}$  *canicellus*-artabae of wheat at the rate of 1 s. per 13 $\frac{1}{2}$  art., = on the Alexandrian standard  $\frac{3}{8}$  s., or on the private standard  $\frac{5}{8}$  s.; remainder, for rent of the orchard, 14 s. Total 14 $\frac{1}{2}$  s.' If, as in the text, we insert ε before γ in l. 54 (ε cannot be read) the arithmetic works out correctly and excellent sense is made. The orchard amounted to 13 arourae, 9 arourae of these were under grass, and an allowance on these was made to the tenant; cf. 1912 134, *συνεχωρήθ(η) τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὑπ(έρ) ἐνχάρτου*, 1913 2-5, *δ(ὲ) τὸ τὰς ἀρουρ(ας) τῆς αὐτ(ῆς) μηχ(ανῆς) δοθ(ῆναι) τοῖς εἰρημ(ένοις) γεωργοῖς λόγ(ω) ἐνχάρτου, ὑπέρ οὗ τῆν ἀρῆρ(ευσ) ποιήσονται εἰς τὰ πωμάρ(ια) καὶ εἰς τὰ χωρ(ια) ἐκ τῶν ἰδῶν αὐτῶν κτημάτων ἀπὸ τῶν γεωγμ(ῶν) βοειδ(ῶν) τοῦ ἐνδοξ(ου) οἴκ(ου)*. After the defaced but very probable θ in l. 55 a stroke is visible, like that which marks a fraction, but 9 is the figure necessary to the arithmetic and the stroke may be part of the symbol for *ὑπέρ*, like that before *ἐκίστου*. *πωμαρίου* in l. 56 is unexpected: if it is right it is hard to see what relation the *μισθός τοῦ πωμαρίου* had to the *φόρος πωμαρίου*. Very likely the clerk, copying from a rough draft, misinterpreted *πωμαρ* / = *πωμαρίτου* as *πωμαρίου*. If so

this is an allowance to the *ποιμαρίτης* for certain work in the orchard, deducted from the sum owed by him for rent. The actual fraction on the Alexandrian standard at the rate of 1 s. per 13½ art. is  $\frac{1}{2} \frac{5}{8}$  s., but this sum is not expressible by the fraction system of these accounts, and is here given with approximate accuracy as  $\frac{5}{8}$  s.

59-73 The general total of receipts for the ninth indiction.

59 *σίκου μέτρ(ρω)* (ἀρτ.): see 1910 intr. and ll. 13-14 n. In 1911 this artaba has exactly, in 1910 approximately, 46 choenices, but in P. Iand. 63 (cf. P. Lond. 1718) its capacity is 48. The equation in l. 65 shows that in the present account the capacity is 46.

60 *κ(αγ.)* (ἀρτ.) τας χ(οίν.) δ: cf. l. 66, from which it appears that this entry should properly be preceded by *ἀλλ(αι)*. Two kinds of artabae were used in payments: some payments were made in *μέτρω* artabae, some in *cancellus*-artabae. From the 2072½ μ. artabae 8 choenices is deducted a remission of 34½ μ. artabae. (In l. 64 this amount is repeated as 34½ art. 5 ch. on the *cancellus* standard. If *κ(αγ.)* there is a slip of the pen for *μέτρ(ρω)* it is difficult to account for the χ(οίν.) ε, but the difference between 34½ μ. art. and the corresponding figure in *cancellus*-art. is a little over 5 art. It looks rather as if the clerk had accidentally written down this difference as 5 choenices and added it to the 34½ μ. art.) On deduction of 34½ art. from 2072½ art. 8 ch., both on the *μέτρω* standard, the remainder should be 2037½ art. 8 ch., but this is rounded off (l. 65) to 2038 art., which is then converted into 2343½ art. 8 ch. on the *cancellus* standard, and to this are added the artabae originally paid in that measure, 901½ art. 4 ch., giving a total of 3245½ *canc.*-art. 2 ch., which is correct.

*σύν ῥοπή*: some of the rent in cash was paid in solidi *σύν ῥοπή*, some in solidi *ἐκτός ῥοπής*. For *ῥοπή* see West and Johnson, *Currency*, p. 133. Their explanation, that *ῥοπή* was a charge for weighing the coins, is much more plausible than that of Preisigke, *WB.*, that it is for 'Sofortzahlung'. The usual charge was ½ carat per solidus. The carats deducted from payments have no relation to the *ῥοπή*.

63 *Καρ(υ)οφυλλ(ίκων)*: for the word *καρυοφύλαξ* Preisigke, *WB.*, Abschn. 8, refers to P.S.I. iv. 297, 19, but the word there is presumably *καρυόφυλλον*. Possibly guards were placed over the nut orchards. This seems likelier than *Καροφυλλ(ίκων)* as a military unit (elsewhere unattested), perhaps analogous to the *Ἀραβοροξότρα*.

74 Here begins the account of expenditure. For these payments to churches cf. 1910 3 l., 1911 72 ff., 1912 116 ff., 2024 5 ff., 2195 86 ff., 2196 10.

82 *ἀντικαταλλαγῆς*: cf. 1917 48, 50, 90. This item would appear to refer to a repayment of the amount of taxes paid on land which had changed hands by a contract of exchange after payment of the *δημόσια*. τῶν ἀπὸ διαφ(έρων) may mean 'with persons from various places'; but the brevity of the entry makes the interpretation uncertain. π(αρά) at the end is extremely indistinct and may be an illusory reading.

84 *θρυκοπ(έως)*: *θρυκοπέω* and *θρυκοπία* are known, but *θρυκοπέως* appears to be a new word.

85 This is apparently the end of the account, for the lower part of this column is blank.

86-8 Cf. 2196 1-6, a very similar prescript. The analogy of that document suggests that this may have been intended as the beginning of a separate account, but whereas in 2196 a summary statement of receipts follows, and is followed in turn by a statement of certain payments, here there is no statement of the *λήμματα* and the disbursements are preceded by the word *ἐδόθη*, not *ἀνῆλθθη*. Hence it is perhaps best, especially as col. I has no heading (see introduction), to conclude that ll. 86-8 refer to the account on the recto, and that what follows is two (later?) notes on the disposal of some portion of the receipts. Phatement is, however, not mentioned on the recto.

For Flavia Praejecta see 1829 24 n., 2196 intr. In the latter document, l. 1, Ὑπαρίαις is to be corrected to *ὑπαρίσ(η)*, or (since η cannot be read here) *ὑπαρίσ(α)* (*ὑπαρίσση*, however, occurs in a papyrus seen by the present writer at Brussels). Praejecta was *ὑπάνασσα* as widow of a *ὑπάτος*.

89 *Χ[ρ]ῆσων*: after this very likely *καὶ ὑποδέκτης*; cf. 1919 6, 9, 10.

91 The cross, not the year sign, precedes the date.

93 *χαρτ(ουδαρίου) τῆς Κυνῶν*: we may probably conclude that the Oxyrhynchite and Cynopolite estates of the family, which were combined in the general administration (Hardy, *Large Estates*, pp. 84-5), had separate *chartularii*.

## 2243 (b). LIST OF DEEDS.

6th cent. A.D.

These entries are written on the back of col. I of the preceding account, in a hand different from either that of the recto or that of ll. 86-95. Whether l. 1 is originally the first line it is impossible to say. The document is a list of legal deeds of the Apion family, but is too brief and too unsystematic to be regarded as in the proper sense an inventory. What we have is probably a number of jottings, put down here for some special purpose. Each item is separated by spaces from that before and that after it.

1 [.....]. (καὶ) τῶν .. χα[.....]

Space of 4 cm.

2 [ε]μολογία [...]. λόγ(ω) τῶν ἀπὸ Ἐπισήμου. ἴσον ὁμολογία(ς) γεναμέν(ης) [μεταξ(ὸ) τοῦ]

3 ἐνδός(ου) οὔκ(ου) τῆς Κυνῶν καὶ τοῦ οὔκ(ου) Ἰωαννακίου (καὶ) ἄλλ(ων). ἴσον δ(ιὰ) Μαρτυρ(ίου) Δωροθέου.

4 γνῶσι(ς) χροσι(ου) τῶν λαμπρ(στάτων) ἀργυροπρατ(ῶν). μίσθ(ωσις).

5 ἀπόδειξι(ς) τοῦ Κουρίου σ( ). ὁμολογία καταθ(έσεως) Στεφάνου δ(ιὰ) .. ασ[.....]

6 ... λαγα( ). ἴσον πράξ(εως). πρᾶσις Ἀμμωνίου γραμματοφύ[λακος].

7 μίσθ(ωσις) τῶν Διγνυσ(ίου) τοῦ ἄρχοντος. .... ρ[...]. [19 letters]

8 γνῶσι(ς) τ[ῶ]ν πρ[...]. [

9 ερσης καὶ ἀναλωμ(άτων) τοῦ κυρ(ίου) Φοιβάμμου[νος] τραπεζ(ίτου) . [26 letters]

10 λόγ(ω) τῶν ἀπὸ Τακόνα.

2 Ἐπισήμου: well known as belonging to the Apion estates, e.g. 136 16.

ἴσον: ἴσον occurs again in l. 3, and the absence of ε after ὁμολογία as here written may suggest that this ἴσον refers to the previous entry, but the very definite space makes against that supposition. The ἴσον δ(ιὰ) Μαρτυρ(ίου) Δωροθέου may, though no space is left between it and what precedes, be a separate item; or it may be a duplicate of this one made by Martyrius.

4 μίσθ(ωσις): this word, preceded and followed by blank spaces, seems to be a separate item.

5 ἀπόδειξι(ς): if rightly read, probably in the sense of 'receipt'.

Κουρίου: such seems to be the reading, though two letters are doubtful. Is it the same name as Κούρι in P. Iand. 37, 3? In the absence of a context it would be rash to extend σ( ). καταθ(έσεως): the first sense in *WB.*, 'Abgabe einer Willenserklärung', is the likeliest here. Despite the preceding space the word is presumably to be taken with ὁμολογία.

.. ασ[.....]: one naturally thinks of Ἀνασ[τασίου], but though the first letter might be α (better ο) the second looks more like λ than ν.

6 ... λαγα( ): very puzzling, and no plausible reading of the letters at the beginning has suggested itself.

γραμματοφύ[λακος]: the letter before φ, though not certain, cannot be η (for γραμματῆφ(ε)ρου), and both ο and ν are likely readings. The word does not occur in Preisigke, *WB.*, though *δημόσια*

γραμματοφυλάκια are mentioned in B.G.U. iv. 913, 4 (A.D. 266). Probably the keeper of the estate records.

9 ερσης και ἀναλωμ(άτων): the probable ερσης is quite obscure (hardly the end of ὑπατέσεως for ὑπατίσεως?), and the word following και looks far more like συναλαμς than αναλωμς.

## 2244. SUPPLY OF AXLES FOR WATER-WHEELS.

31.5 × 109.5 cm.

6th-7th cent.

This is a rather interesting account of axles supplied for the water-wheels installed in the various estates of the Apion family. Receipts from *coloni* for the issue of axles and other 'spare parts' are common (e.g. 1899 and documents cited there, 1900, 1982-91), and there are also frequent references in accounts to the cost of such articles, e.g. 1911 160 ff., 163 ff., etc., from which it would appear that seven years was the normal, or at least a usual, term for the service of an axle; but the present account, so far as it is continuously preserved, is wholly concerned with this subject. The one exception is the detached fragment published at the end of this introduction, which, though in a hand closely similar to that of the main account, if not identical with it, may be from a different roll. On the recto of the roll are five fairly complete columns, with the ends of lines of a preceding column, and a sixth has been added on the verso, but there are a number of small fragments, most of them certainly not from any of the six better preserved columns. On one of the larger ones the seventh indiction occurs three times, and it would be natural to infer that this fragment (which has writing only on the recto) comes from a column following col. V; but that is followed by a blank space much broader than the usual intercolumnar interval, and it is probable that the roll ends there. Hence the order of the entries cannot be strictly chronological. The papyrus, towards the end, is brittle, in places so rotten that it breaks into powder at a touch; the hand is an upright, laterally compressed cursive, written with a thin pen, which gives it a rather spidery effect. It seems to date from the late sixth or early seventh century. The heading being lost, the identification of the estates concerned with those of the Apion family rests on the place-names found in the account, which are amply sufficient to establish the connexion.

Each entry consists of (1) the name of the γεωργός to whom the axle was issued, (2) the village or other locality from which he came, (3) the μηχανή which he served, (4) the number of axles (in every case except l. 88, where the same person was responsible for two water-wheels, one only). In addition, the date of issue (various months in the sixth and, in a few cases, seventh, indictions) is most often, though not invariably, noted; and several times the source of supply is indicated. These indications are as follows: ἐκ τῶν ἐνεχθέντων νῦν (ll. 14 n., 15 n., 24, &c.); ἀπὸ (or ἐκ) τῶν ἐνεχθέντων (l. 60, νῦν) ἀπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας (ll. 17, where ἐξ ἐπιτροπῆς τοῦ κόμητος Σερήνου follows, 18 f., &c.), ἐκ τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας (ll. 1-2 n., 83, etc.), ἐκ τῶν ἐνεχθέντων with a date (l. 44). Once an explanatory note is added (l. 35): οὐκ ἔχει παλαι(όν). The μηχαναί

are usually those irrigating the fields named after them, but in l. 45 f. we read of an axle εἰς χρεῖαν τῆς μηχανῆς τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) λα[ο]υ[τ]ρ(οῦ). Many of the axles are described as χειρ( ); see l. 2 n. The account is divided into sections according to the διοικήσεως or μερίς under which the μηχαναί fall.

At the end of this introduction may conveniently be published the one fragment, already referred to, which does not belong to the main account and may come from another roll:

(ὑπέρ) [λόγ(ου)] ὀψωνίου τῶν τ[α]πιδαρ(ίων) ·  
 οἰν(ου) δι(πλά) , δχ ἐξ ὧν ὑπέρ  
 Φιλοξένου ἀπὸ μειζ(όνων) δι(πλά) λς  
 (ὑπέρ) Φιλοξένου Παλιλίου δι(πλά) λς  
 5 (ὑπέρ) Γεωργίου Κοῦρι δι(πλά) ιβ  
 Εὐφρημῆ Κολλούθου μαγίρ(ου) δι(πλά) ιβ  
 [(ὑπέρ)] τῶν τέκν(ων) Μηρᾶ Ἄρσ( ) δι(πλά) κε  
 [. . . . ?βο]ηλάτη δι(πλά) λς  
 ]τ( ) δ[ε](πλά) λς

1 l. ταπιδάρων 2 ὑπέρ 3 l. Φιλοξένου 6 l. μαγείρου

## Col. II

■ ]χ  
 2 Ἰούδης υἱῷ Ι[. . .]· τρυ ἀπ[ὸ] ἐ[π]οικ(ίου) Μεγάλ(ης) Παρορίου (γεωργ(ῶ)) μηχανῆς  
 καλουμ(ένης) Μερπίου χειρ( ) ἄξ(ων) α  
 3 Ἰουλι[φ] υἱ[φ] Ἀκρ[φ] τρωνος ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Λεωνίδου γεωργ(ῶ) μηχανῆς καλ[ο]υ-  
 μ(ένης) γηδίου Εὐλογίου χειρ( ) ἄξ(ων) α  
 4 Ἄπα Ὡρω υἱῷ Παύλου ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Νεκάνθεως γεωργ(ῶ) μηχανῆς καλου-  
 μ(ένης) Φῆνκε χειρ( ) ἄξ(ων) α  
 5 Βίετωρι υἱῷ Ἀνοῦπ ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Λεωνίδου γεωργ(ῶ) μηχανῆς καλουμ(ένης)  
 Κυλλῆς τοῦ  
 6 δικαίου τυγχάνουσαν Ἡρακλείας χειρ( ) ἄξ(ων) α  
 7 Ἀποφουτι υἱῷ Παησίου ἀπ[ὸ] κώμ(ης) Μερμέρθων γεωργ(ῶ) μηχανῆς καλου-  
 μ(ένης)  
 8 Βελαρίνου τοῦ δικαίου Πέρα Μερμέρθων τοῦ κτήμ(ατος) χειρ( ) ἄξ(ων) α  
 9 Παμουθῶ υἱῷ Παύλου μητρὸς Ἄννας ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Κυραμῶνος γεωργ(ῶ) μηχανῆς  
 10 καλουμ(ένης) Τρ'ι'γκε[. . .] τοῦ Θῶθ κὸ ἰδ(ικτ.) ε χειρ( ) ἄξ(ων) α  
 11 Φοιβάμμωνι υἱῷ Ἰωά[γνω]ν ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Στεφανίωνος γεωργ(ῶ) μηχανῆς  
 καλουμ(ένης)



- 51 Πατάτος Φαῶφι γυ ἰνδ(κτ.) ς χειρ( ) ἄξ(ων) α
- 52 Ἀνουθίω γέκ(τοιν) υἰῶ Παύλῳ καὶ Ἰσακ υἰῶ Ἀβρααμίῳ ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Κύριλλα γεωρ(γοῖς) μηχ(ανῆς) καλουμ(ένης)
- 53 Νρ[τ]μη[η]ς τοῦ Κτήματ(ος) Φαῶφι ιδ ἰνδ(κτ.) ς χειρ( ) ἄξ(ων) ᾱ
- 54 Φοιβάμμωνι υἰῶ Ἀνουθίου ἀπὸ κόμ(ης) Ὡφείως γεωρ(γῶ) μηχ(ανῆς) καλουμ(ένης) Θρουείτιδος Φαῶφι ιε ἰνδ(κτ.) ς ἄξ(ων) ᾱ
- 55 Πραούτι υἰῶ Παμβηχίου ἀπὸ Κολόξου γεωρ(γῶ) μηχ(ανῆς) καλουμ(ένης) Μελάνου Ἄθῆρ δ ἰνδ(κτ.) ς ἄξ(ων) ᾱ
- 56 Φοιβάμμωνι τῶ καὶ Πατεύνω υἰῶ Παύλου ἀπὸ Φάκρα γεωρ(γῶ) μηχ(ανῆς) καλουμ(ένης) Πλεεῖν Ἄθῆρ κη ς ἰνδ(κτ.) ἄξ(ων) ᾱ ἐκ τῶν ἐνεχθ(έντων) νῦν
- 57 Λαμάσωνι υἰῶ Καλάμμωνος ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Ὁξυρύγχο[υ] γεωρ(γῶ) τῆς μηχ(ανῆς) καλουμ(ένης) Πετηήτος
- 58 δικαίου τοῦ κτήμ[α]τος Κηρά ἐπὶ μῆνι Χριακ ιᾱ ς ἰνδ(κτ.) ἐκ τῶν (ἐν)εχθέντ(ων) νῦν ἄξ(ων) ᾱ
- 59 Λαμάσωνι υἰῶ Παύλου ἀπὸ κόμ(ης) Ταμπετὶ γεωρ(γῶ) μηχ(ανῆς) Ματρίνου
- 60 ἐκ τῶν ἐνεχθ(έντων) νῦν ἀπ' Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) Χοιακ κγ ἰνδ(κτ.) ς ἄξ(ων) ᾱ
- 61 Ἀπφοῦ φρ(οντιστή) υἰῶ Ἰωσήφ ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Σκέλους γεωρ(γῶ) μηχ(ανῆς) καλουμ(ένης) Τῶν Χωρ(ίων) ἀπὸ τῶν
- 62 ἐνεχθ(έντων) ἀπ' Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) Τῆβι ι ἰνδ(κτ.) ς ἄξ(ων) ᾱ
- 63 Μουσαίω υἰῶ Παμβηχίου ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Νικήτου γεωρ(γῶ) μηχ(ανῆς) καλ[ο]υμ(ένης) Κουῆς Μεχειρ κς̄ ς ἰνδ(κτ.) ἄξ(ων) ᾱ
- 54 l. Θρουείτιδος 56 νῦν 62 ν of νδ/ written over ς 63 Apparently a later addition (in different ink). αξονς ; l. αξων

## Col. V

- 64 [ Διοίκησις τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἐντολέα Τ[ο]ε̄ ἐπὶ τῆς ς ἰνδ(κτ.)
- 65 εἰς χρεῖαν τῆς μεγάλ(ης) μηχ(ανῆς) Παρὰ Ποταμ(όν) δι(ὰ) Πετρονίου καταμειν( ) τοῦ κόμ(ετος) Σχολαστικοῦ
- 66 ἐπὶ μῆνι Θῶθ κα ἰνδ(κτ.) ς ἄξ(ων) ᾱ
- 67 εἰς τὴν μηχ(ανῆν) καλουμ(ένην) Τῆς Πύλης ὑπὸ Ἰωσήφ υἱὸν Παύλου ἀπὸ Μύρμκος
- 68 ἐπὶ μῆνι Θῶθ κα ἰνδ(κτ.) ς ἀρχ(ῆ) ζ ἄξ(ων) ᾱ
- 69 εἰς τὴν μηχ(ανῆν) καλουμ(ένην) Κωνῆς ὑπὸ Ἰούλιον υἱὸν Ἀπολλῶτος ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου)
- 70 Μύρμκος ἄξ(ων) ᾱ
- 71 εἰς τὴν μηχ(ανῆν) καλουμ(ένην) Τιχάλι'κος' ὑπὸ Ἰωάννην υἱὸν Τοχᾶν ἀπὸ
- 72 τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) κτήμ(ατος) ἄξ(ων) ᾱ

- 73 εἰς τὴν μηχ(ανῆν) καλουμ(ένην) Πάλα ἤτοι τῆς Συκαμνέας ὑπὸ Φίβ [υ]ῖόν Φιλοξένου ἀπὸ
- 74 ἐποικ(ίου) Μύρμκος ἐκ τῶν ἐνεχθ(έντων) ἀπ' Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) Τῆβι ιθ ἰνδ(κτ.) ς ἄξ(ων) ᾱ  
Space of 4·5 cm.
- 75 Διοίκησις(ις) τοῦ βοθη(οῦ) Ἰσίωτος
- 76 Ἀπολλῶ πρεσβυτέρ(ω) υἰῶ Φιλήμμωνος ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Ἀμυτᾶ γεωρ(γῶ) μηχ(ανῆς) καλουμ(ένης) Τοῦ Κτήμ(ατος)
- 77 Τῆβι ιθ ἰνδ(κτ.) ς ἄξ(ων) ᾱ
- 78 Ἰωάννη φρ(οντιστή) καὶ Ἀνοῦπ υἰῶ Ἀνουθίου καὶ Φοιβάμμωνι υἰῶ Ὡρου καὶ Ἄδαμ υἰῶ Ἀπφοῦ
- 79 ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Ταρουσεβτ γεωρ(γοῖς) μηχ(ανῆς) καλουμ(ένης) Τοῦ Χωρίου μῆνι Φαρμοῦθι κα ἰνδ(κτ.) ς ἄξ(ων) ᾱ
- 67 l. Μύρμκος; so too ll. 70, 74 69 l. Κωνῆν 76 γ of γεωρ/ rewritten or a correction (from απτ) 78 ανουπ' 79 ταρουσεβτ'

## On the Verso of Cols. IV and V: Col. VI

- 80 Διοίκησις(ις) τοῦ κόμ(ετος) Ἰερμη[ου] ἐπὶ [τῆ]ς ς [ε]νδ(κτ.) κατασφ[ρ](ᾶς) ζ''
- 81 Παμουθίω μείζ(ωνι) κόμης Τ[αμ]πετὶ εἰς[ς] χρεῖαν τῆς μηχ(ανῆς) καλουμ(ένης) Τερῶτ τοῦ νέου λάκκου
- 82 ἐν ἐδάφ(ει) Φανχόχ τοῦ β[ορ]ρυν[ο]ῦ κυκλευτηρίου ἀ[ν]τλοῦντ(ος) εἰς τὰ νεόφυτα χωρία
- 83 δι(ὰ) τῶν ἀπὸ Ταμπετὶ μῆνι Μεσορ[ῆ] ις ἰνδ(κτ.) ς ἀρχ(ῆ) ζ ἐκ τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησι(ας) ἄξ(ων) ᾱ
- 84 Παμουθίω μείζ(ωνι) ὁμοί(ως) ἀπὸ Ταμπετὶ εἰς χ[ρ]εῖαν τῆς νοτινῆς μηχ(ανῆς) ἐν ἐδάφ(ει) Φανχόχ
- 85 ἀντλοῦσ(ης) εἰς νεόφυτα χωρ(ία) δι(ὰ) τῶν ἀπὸ Ταμπετὶ Μεσορῆ ις ἰνδ(κτ.) ζ ἐκ (τῶν) τῆς ἐκκλησι(ας) ἄξ(ων) ᾱ
- 86 Τρυᾶν μείζ(ωνι) ἀπὸ Ταμπέμου εἰς χρεῖαν τῶν δύο κυκλευτηρ(ίων)
- 87 τοῦ νέου λάκκ(ου) τοῦ βληθ(έντος) εἰς τὰ νεόφυτα χωρ(ία) ἐν κόμ(ῃ) Ταμπέμου
- 88 Μεσορῆ κς ἰνδ(κτ.) ς ἄξ(ων) β
- 89 Ἀπολλῶ διακόν(ω) καὶ Ἰωσήφ Ἰωάννου γεωρ(γοῖς) ἀπὸ κόμ(ης) Τακόνα εἰς χρεῖαν τῆς μηχ(ανῆς)
- 90 καλουμ(ένης) Μαρίας Θῶθ κη ἰνδ(κτ.) ζ ἄξ(ων) ᾱ

81 l. μείζων



ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO PIECES  
PUBLISHED IN VOL. XIX.

2212. FR. 2, 4, 5. Following up an inquiry of Professor Pfeiffer's I find that I can locate fr. 5 vertically below the right-hand side of fr. 4(a) and horizontally opposite fr. 2, 3 seqq. The only external indication regarding the vertical distance of fr. 5 from fr. 4 is the negative one that the top of fr. 2 stands clear of the bottom of fr. 4. There is no external evidence about the horizontal distance of fr. 5 from fr. 2.

The text must now be represented as follows:

|                                   |  |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| ]επεσοφ[<br>]. . . . .            | . . . . .<br>]ε νοονδ]εφ]ρ]α]κατο]ε]ο.]<br>]πατρι]διμαιομενης]<br>]ντακαιο]ιμλητονενα]ι]<br>]αρτεμι]δος]<br>]ηιδ.]. . .]α]λλα]ντη]μοε]<br>]νετ]α]μ]εσ.] κτλ. |
| ]υ[<br>]η]μουν[<br>]ωλ.[<br>]ναρ[ |  |

The letters between half-brackets are contributed by 2213.

FR. 21 and 27 are linked by a new fragment in such a way that after fr. 27, 1-3 as printed there follow, ll. 4 seqq.:

|   |  |
|---|--|
| 5 ] αυ]ραδομ.[<br>] οφ]θαλμουε]<br>] ωσε]χ'επωφ].[<br>]η]σ[ | 4 .[, ο or ω      6 .[, an upright farther than the normal interval from φ |
|---|--|

2213. Fr. 10. I now think it not unlikely that this fragment should be placed so as to continue fr. 8(c) downwards. There may, in fact, though I see no way of determining the truth, be no more than one verse lost between them.

Further, I believe that the two following fragments may be supposed to come from the same neighbourhood as fr. 10 and 8(c) though I cannot bring

them into any precise relation. The appearance of fr. 22 very much resembles that of fr. 8(c) and that of fr. 23 that of fr. 10.

|   |   |
|---|---|
| Fr. 22.<br>]. . . . .<br>]κατη].[<br>]. ιε [ . . . . .<br>]εσθαι[<br>] [ . . . . .<br>] [ . . . . . | Fr. 23.<br>]. . . . .<br>].δο[<br>]ο[<br>]εσ[<br>5 ] .π[<br>] [ . . . . . |
|---|---|

Fr. 22 Apparently the bottom of a column.

2 .[, an upright with traces of a horizontal stroke to left of its top

Fr. 23 If the beginnings of lines, as the blank space on the left of ll. 4-6 seems to indicate, the first letter of l. 2 projected slightly into the left-hand margin.

1 The middle part of a stroke descending from left to right, e.g. the right-hand stroke of δ 2 ],, perhaps elements of the right-hand arc of a circle

|   |  |
|---|--|
| Fr. 24.<br>]. . . . .<br>] ανε]ρ[<br>] η]ρ[<br>] ρ]η[<br>]. . . . . | Fr. 25.<br>]. . . . .<br>] —[<br>] κ<br>] —[<br>]. . . . . |
|---|--|

Fr. 24  
3 Rubbed 4 Rubbed; the traces may be combined to give ε or υ followed by γ or π and in other ways

Fr. 25 I am fairly confident that this scrap stood in the region of the right-hand edge of fr. 1 and incline to think that it may be attached opposite the ends of ll. 5-10. The stichometrical figure  $\bar{x}$  ('v. 1000'), which refers to the column lost on its right, attests a minimum of a thousand lines in this (the third?) book of the *Atria*. I believe there is no other direct evidence about the length of any book of the work

2216. The following fragments appear to be in the same hand as the larger piece published on pp. 41 seqq. The first may well come from its immediate neigh-

bourhood, the second is stained a dark colour and has no special resemblance to them apart from the writing.

## Fr. 2 r.

]. . [ ] . . . . [ ]  
]μενένις[  
]. [ ]

## Fr. 2 r.

1 The last letter but one would be taken for μ (represented by the right-hand upright and half the curved cross-stroke), the last for δ or ζ (represented by the lower left-hand angle), an impossible collocation. The first of this group is represented by the lower part of an upright descending a little below the line 2 . [ , π not verifiable

## Fr. 3 r.

]. ζογ . . . [ ]  
]δεν[ ]

## Fr. 3 r.

1 ], the upper part of an upright. After γ the traces may be combined to give αλ or αχ, but I am dubious of both 2 . [ , perhaps α but there are only faint shadows

2220. A new scrap has been attached to fr. 10 giving as ll. 5-6

]αροτ[ρ]ον[ ]  
]ρεεχ[.]νε[ ]

## Fr. 2 v.

]. [ ]  
]. ω . [ ] . [ ]  
]. . [ ] . . . . [ ]

## Fr. 2 v.

2 ],, apparently the tip of an upright with an acute over ]. [ , perhaps the lower loop of β and parts of the left-hand arm and the right of ν 3 ]. [ , prima facie, the upright and the lower arm of κ followed at an interval by an upright with traces of ink to its right. It might be more correct to write ]κ[.] [ . Perhaps ] . π ε θ [ as likely as anything, but this does not account for some ink like a shallow circumflex above εθ

## Fr. 3 v.

]γξροιτο[ ]  
]μοιαη[ ]

## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO PIECES PUBLISHED IN PREVIOUS VOLUMES

Vol. xvii. 2079 see vol. xviii 2167 below

2080 (Callimachus, *Altr.* β)

Vol. xviii. 2167 (Callimachus, *Altr.* α)

2171 (Callimachus, *Ephodes*)

2174 (Hipponax, *Scazons*)

2175 (Hipponax, *Scazons*)

2176 (Commentary on Hipponax, ? *Ephodes*)

2079. See 2167 below.

2080 (Callimachus, *Altr.* β). A new fragment has been placed opposite the right-hand edge of col. i 18 seq.

]. αλλ[.]μει[ ]  
]. ε . ην [ ]  
20 ] . . . . [ ]

In l. 20 I am doubtful how to combine the traces. Of the first letter there is only a dot. Next comes what might be taken as μ but is perhaps more probably αι or λα, since it seems to be followed by γ (not π). After this there is a dot or very short stroke descending left to right level with the tops of the letters and finally the upper part of an upright.

2167 2079 (Callimachus, *Altr.* α) fr. 2. Another scrap has been fixed before the upper part of col. i, which now runs:

. . . . .  
]. νλ[ ]  
]. ναι [ ]  
]. κατεκολλη[ ]  
]. εργαλα[ ] [ ]  
5 ]νης[ ] [ ]  
]. εος[ ] [ ]  
]. ο . [ ] . λασσα[ ]  
]. τατελε[ ] ου [ ]  
]. εανειμον[ . . . ] . ζαπροκολπov κτλ.

4 What I have taken for the top of ι might be read as a high stop 5 . [ , the left-hand arc of a circle 6 ]ε, I cannot rule out θ 7 ]. , before λ apparently the tail of a stroke descending from left but ending too high for α; not prima facie ε

8 I call attention to the resemblance of this verse to that added in the lower margin of P.S.I. 1217 B fr. 2. If it is not illusory, λόφου ends the line, but I can get no farther.





2175 (Hipponax). Two new fragments are to be added.

Fr. 12.

. . .  
 ]  
 ]ρη  
 ].η[.]εν  
 ]ρσ  
 ]ητη  
 5 ]ντα  
 ].ετι.  
 ].α  
 ]αα  
 . . .

Fr. 12 Perhaps the top of a column.

2 ], possibly part of the loop of ρ 6 ], a trace compatible with the end of the overhang of ε τρ, would naturally be read but there is rather a wide interval between ε and ρ and after ρ there is a small loop which I can neither combine with ρ nor read as a separate letter. Possibly the ink after τ represents a marginal addition by a different hand 7 ], very faint traces compatible with the bottom angle of ν

Fr. 13.

. . .  
 ]μ[  
 ]. . . α[  
 ]κνθαν[  
 ]ν[.]μ.[  
 5 ]εθου[  
 ]σπ[  
 ]ωσ...[  
 ]ωντ...[  
 ].υθρονα.[  
 . . .

Fr. 13 2 ], the lower parts of two uprights descending below the line, the second having a dot above and to right; the second letter is probably ρ, the preceding might be another ρ, but there are many other possibilities 4 ], a dot on the line, perhaps the foot of an upright ], at mid-letter level the start of a stroke rising to right 5 Of η[ only the left-hand apex 7 The second letter after ε represented by the lower part of an upright turning out to left 9 ], the tail of α or λ ], the upper left-hand angle of γ or π

Fr. 14.

. . .  
 ]κφ[

2176 (Hipponax commentary). The following further corrections and additions are to be made besides those in vol. xviii Addenda, of which the numeration is continued.

Fr. 9 is to be inserted in fr. 1 i 8-9 so that the ends of the lines run:

εινακαμμ  
 βιωτ.[.]ξενηγ

Perhaps τὸς εὐθείς, 'in common parlance simpletons' are called . . .

To fr. 8, 4-7 a new fragment joins giving:

κηρυ  
 ανδρ[  
 τριταουγ  
 κηρυ κτλ.

The rest I have not been able to attach.

Fr. 19.

. . .  
 ]. κάμ[  
 ]ξ.[  
 . . .

Fr. 20.

. . .  
 ]. λυ[  
 ]...[  
 . . .

Fr. 21.

. . .  
 ]κ[  
 ]. ε[  
 ].[  
 . . .

Fr. 21 2 ], the tail of a letter like α touching the bottom of ε 3 The upper part of a stroke descending to the right, e.g. λ

Fr. 22.

. . .  
 ]. απιττει...[  
 ]αμβονηρηκηκοα.[

Fr. 22 1 At the end bases of letters capable of various interpretations: the first and fourth are the feet of uprights, the latter preceded by traces which might be taken for κ or λ and followed by traces which might be taken for α; the second might be μ

## Fr. 23.

. . . . .  
 ], τ. . . [ . . . . .  
 ]τρ[ ]ξ. . . [ . . . . .  
 ]αμβικ[ ] . . . τοδε [ . . . . .  
 ]ηχοριαμβικον [ . . . . .  
 5 ]λωσενποτερον[ . . . . .  
 ] . . . δηλοσενετιωσ [ . . . . .  
 ] . . . τρησενουαρχη [ . . . . .  
 κ  
 ] . . . χοριαμβι [ . . . . .  
 ] . . . . . [ . . . . .

Fr. 23 1 ]ρ possible 2 ξα possible 3 Perhaps κ[σ]υ

Col. i. Fr. 24. Col. ii.

. . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 5 ] . ρ [ . . . . .  
 ] . ε [ . . . . .  
 ] . ζ [ . . . . .  
 ] π ε [ . . . . .  
 ] α [ . . . . .  
 ] ν [ . . . . .  
 ] κ α [ . . . . .  
 ] ς [ . . . . .  
 κ  
 ] . . . αμβι [ . . . . .  
 10 ] . . . εκτα [ . . . . .  
 ] . . . ετρ. [ . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .

Fr. 24 Col. ii 5 υ might perhaps be ερ [ ], the lower part of an upright 6 Above ρ  
 some ink; possibly ου(τω) [ ], a small arc on the line, e.g. ς [ 8 Possibly ληκ 10 ]πα not  
 verifiable 13 Before υ a tailed letter; possibly φυλακ [ ], the left-hand tip of a cross-stroke,  
 as of τ 14 [ ], a stroke rising from well below the line with a slight left to right slope, e.g. λ

## INDICES

(The figures 22 are to be supplied before 08-44; figures in small raised type refer to fragments, small roman figures to columns; an asterisk indicates that the word to which it is attached is not recorded in the Ninth Edition of Liddell and Scott, Greek-English Lexicon; square brackets indicate that a word does not occur in the papyrus, but is added from other sources or by conjecture; round brackets, in the indices to non-literary texts, that the word is not complete in the papyrus. In Index I dialect forms have been reduced to Attic forms where the latter are known.)

## I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

## (a) CALLIMACHUS (2208-18 and Addenda)

|  |  |   |
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| ἀβρός 11 <sup>17</sup> 23.<br>ἀγαθός 08 <sup>8</sup> 11 11 <sup>2v</sup> 4 [12 <sup>10</sup> 3].<br>ἀγειν [16 <sup>1v</sup> 4, 7].<br>ἀγρός 11 <sup>17</sup> 3.<br>ἀγών [12 <sup>18</sup> 6].<br>ἀγανιστής [12 <sup>18</sup> 9].<br>ἀεθλος 16 <sup>17</sup> 3.<br>ἀεί 08 <sup>3</sup> 15 11 <sup>2v</sup> 2 [12 <sup>10</sup> 1].<br>16 <sup>17</sup> 12.<br>ἄξιοσθαι 11 <sup>1v</sup> 13.<br>ἀη[ 16 <sup>3v</sup> 2.<br>ἀθάνατος 08 <sup>1</sup> 6(?).<br>αἰα[ 11 <sup>1v</sup> 22.<br>Αἰγαίον 12 <sup>18</sup> 6.<br>Αἰγαίος 16 <sup>1v</sup> 7.<br>αἰδεῖσθαι [11 <sup>1v</sup> 17].<br>αἰδώς 12 <sup>4</sup> 10.<br>αἰέν 13 <sup>8</sup> 7.<br>αἰθεν 11 <sup>17</sup> 11.<br>αἰθήρ [16 <sup>1v</sup> 1].<br>αἶμα 11 <sup>17</sup> 16.<br>αὐ[ 12 <sup>24</sup> 1, 2.<br>αἶρα 11 <sup>27</sup> 2.<br>αἰσωνήτης 16 <sup>17</sup> 10.<br>αἰτεῖν 11 <sup>17</sup> 19.<br>αἰτίειν 16 <sup>1v</sup> 4.<br>αἶψα 12 <sup>27</sup> 4.<br>ἀκή(-ν?) 16 <sup>17</sup> 9.<br>ἄκλος 15 <sup>1</sup> 13.<br>ἄκμαν 11 <sup>27</sup> 7.<br>Ἀκόντιος 11 <sup>17</sup> 10.<br>ἀκούειν 11 <sup>1v</sup> 14.<br>ἀκονή [10 <sup>18</sup> 9].<br>Ἀκραγαντίνος 11 <sup>1v</sup> 13.<br>ἀκριβής 09 B 7(?).<br>ἄκρος [10 <sup>16</sup> 6(?)] [16 <sup>1v</sup> 6].<br>17 14. | Ἀκτιάς 11 <sup>1v</sup> 9.<br>Ἀλητεῖαι 12 <sup>18</sup> 5.<br>ἄλιτρος 13 <sup>8</sup> 14.<br>ἄλκαρ 14 29.<br>Ἀλκίνοος 09 A 6.<br>ἄλλὰ 67 <sup>6</sup> 1 12 <sup>20</sup> 4(?) 13 <sup>1</sup> 15<br>[17 12].<br>ἄλλος 87 <sup>3</sup> 3.<br>ἄλλα 14 27.<br>ἄμαρτάνειν 15 <sup>1</sup> 14.<br>ἄμβλος 67 <sup>6</sup> 4(?).<br>ἄμοιβαδός 14 23.<br>Ἀμυμώνη 11 <sup>17</sup> 7.<br>ἄμφι 09 B 9(?) 13 <sup>8</sup> 11.<br>ἄμφός 11 <sup>17</sup> 6.<br>ἄμφότερος 11 <sup>17</sup> 17.<br>ἄν 11 <sup>1v</sup> 10 17 13.<br>ἄνα 11 <sup>1v</sup> 3.<br>ἀνάγειν 14 19.<br>ἀναίδης 14 29.<br>ἀναξ 11 <sup>2v</sup> 10 1 <sup>7</sup> 14.<br>ἀνάσσειν 15 <sup>1</sup> 10.<br>ἀνέρχεσθαι 13 <sup>8</sup> 4.<br>ἀνήρ 11 <sup>1v</sup> 10, 14, 18 <sup>2v</sup> 11<br>12 <sup>1(b)</sup> 4 13 <sup>24</sup> 1.<br>ἀνθρωπος 15 <sup>1</sup> 8.<br>ἀνῶν [09 A 3].<br>ἀννέφελος 16 <sup>1v</sup> 2.<br>ἀντί 11 <sup>17</sup> 19.<br>ἀντιάζειν [08 <sup>1</sup> 2].<br>Ἀντιόχη 14 22(?).<br>ἄξιος 08 <sup>1</sup> 6.<br>ἄξων 17 10.<br>ἀπάγειν 13 <sup>8</sup> 7.<br>ἀπειπεῖν 11 <sup>17</sup> 27.<br>ἀπεχθής 13 <sup>8</sup> 12.<br>ἀπηραῖος 13 <sup>8</sup> 5. | ἄπνος 10 <sup>10</sup> 7.<br>ἀπό[ 13 <sup>8</sup> 8.<br>ἀπό 11 <sup>17</sup> 14 1 <sup>v</sup> 22 14 9, 21<br>16 <sup>1v</sup> [4], 13.<br>ἀποκρύπτειν 09 A 9.<br>ἀποτιμᾶν [12 <sup>18</sup> 8].<br>ἀρα 16 <sup>1v</sup> 5.<br>Ἀργολικός 11 <sup>2v</sup> 6.<br>ἀρή 16 <sup>17</sup> 6.<br>Ἀρήθη 11 <sup>17</sup> 22.<br>Ἀρμισπέσιος [14 12].<br>Ἄρτεμις 13 <sup>1</sup> 14 18 1(?).<br>ἀστεροπή 16 <sup>1v</sup> 10.<br>ἀστήρ 11 <sup>17</sup> 17.<br>ἀτα . . . [ 14 19.<br>ἀνιάζειν 13 <sup>8</sup> 15.<br>ἀθε 16 <sup>17</sup> 4.<br>ἀξέ[ 10 <sup>19</sup> 3.<br>ἄσος 17 9.<br>αἴριον [10 <sup>16</sup> 9].<br>Ἀσόνιος 16 <sup>1v</sup> 12.<br>αὐτίκα 10 <sup>4</sup> 6 15 <sup>2</sup> 4.<br>Ἀστομάτη 11 <sup>17</sup> 8.<br>αὐτός 08 <sup>3</sup> 5 11 <sup>17</sup> 10, 24 <sup>27</sup> 7<br>13 <sup>9</sup> 9 15 <sup>1</sup> 2.<br>αὐτοσχέδιος 09 B 3.<br>ἄφαρ 11 <sup>1v</sup> 3.<br>ἀφνεῖός 13 <sup>7</sup> 7.<br>ἄφρον 08 <sup>3</sup> 10 15 <sup>2</sup> 5.<br>ἀχάριστος [10 <sup>16</sup> 8].<br>ἀχθαίνειν 11 <sup>1v</sup> 4.<br>ἄσων 17 14.<br><br>βάλλειν 10 <sup>17</sup> 1 13 <sup>8</sup> 8.<br>βαρύνειν 11 <sup>1v</sup> b.<br>βασιλεύς 11 <sup>2v</sup> 4 12 <sup>18</sup> 3.<br>βιάσθαι 10 <sup>18</sup> 2(?). |
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Fragment of ancient Greek text, likely from a papyrus scroll. The text is arranged in approximately six lines, though the fragment is irregularly shaped and partially obscured by damage. The characters are in a cursive or semi-cursive script, characteristic of Hellenistic or Roman period documents. The fragment is dark and appears to be a carbonized or inked surface.

Fragment of ancient Greek text, likely from a papyrus scroll. This fragment is smaller and more irregularly shaped than the one above. It contains several lines of text, though the characters are less distinct due to the fragment's condition. The script is consistent with the larger fragment above.